1897

AN

ABSTRACT

OF THE

EVIDENCE

DELIVERED BEFORE A

SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE

S. Br. Tam

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

IN THE YEARS 1790 AND 1791;

ON THE PART OF THE

PETITIONERS

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED AT THE JOINT EXPENCE OF THE
GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH SOCIETIES,
Instituted for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

MDCCXCI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

In conſequence of the numerous Petitions which were ſent to Parliament from different Counties. Cities, and Towns of Great Britain, in the year 1788, for the ABOLITION of the SLAVE TRADE, it was determined by the Houſe of Commons to hear Evidence upon that ſubject.

The Slave-Merchants and Planters accordingly brought forward ſeveral perſons as witneſſes, the firſt in behalf of the continuance of the Slave-trade, the latter in defence of the Colonial Slavery. Theſe were heard and examined in the years 1789 and 1790.

Several perſons were afterwards called on the ſide of the Petitioners of Great Britain, to ſubſtantiate the foundation of their ſeveral petitions, and to invalidate ſeveral points of the evidence which the others had offered. Theſe were examined in the years 1790, and 1791.

This Abſtract is then made up from the evidence of the latter, in which little other alteration has been made than that of bringing things on the ſame point into one chapter, which before lay ſcattered in different parts of the evidence; and this has been done to enable the reader to ſee every branch of the ſubject in a clear and diſtinct ſhape.

The evidence for Africa and the Middle Paſſage, on the ſide of the Petitioners of Great Britain, is given by perſons, who have been to almoſt all the conſpicuous parts of Africa, from the River Senegal to Angola. Many of them have had great opportunities of information, from having been reſident on ſhore, or having been up and down the different rivers, or from having made each of them ſeveral voyages. Among theſe, as well as among thoſe who have only had the opportunity perhaps of a ſingle voyage, are to be reckoned ſeveral reſpectable perſons of education, obſervation, and leiſure, and it is to be obſerved, that the information of the whole goes to things at different periods from the year 1754 to 1789. The evidences again for the Weſt Indies and America are numerous and reſpectable. Many of them have had the advantage of being reſident there for years, and the information which they have given, extends to things as they were at various times from 1753 to 1790. Of all theſe it muſt be ſaid, that they are totally *diſintereſted perſons*, and therefore can have had nothing to biaſs them either one way or the other in the evidence they have given. The Editor, on the other hand, feels it incumbent upon him to acknowledge, that ſome of them came up as evidences, from a *ſenſe of duty* and this *againſt their own apparent intereſt*, and under *the threats and proſpect of ſuffering conſiderably* for ſuch a conduct.

Of the Evidences, on the other hand, brought forward by the ſlave-merchants and planters, there are few indeed who are not *deeply intereſted* in the teſtimony they have given, and the event of the deciſion. In the African part of the queſtion, all but two are immediately concerned in the ſlave trade, and in the Weſt Indian, the Admirals only can be fairly excepted. And of what does their information conſiſt but of round and general aſſertions, without any ſpecifick facts? Theſe aſſertions, however, are in behalf of the planters, and tend to prove the comforts and happineſs of their ſlaves.

We have no right to ſuppoſe that perſons of their character had any intention of miſleading the publick in a queſtion of ſo much importance to the intereſts of mankind; but we may ſuppoſe, that *in their ſituation they had little or no opportunity of obſerving the treatment of the ſlaves*; and this is actually the fact. The Admirals, when on ſhore, were almoſt entirely in the towns. Now all the evidences for the petitioners of England are unanimous in aſſerting that the ſlaves in the towns appear to be better treated than thoſe in the country. Hence the Admirals may have been in ſome meaſure warranted in ſaying what they have done, but they ought to have obſerved that their evidence related to but *a partial* and not *the general body of the ſlaves*, and that *their opportunities of information were exceedingly limited and confined.*

When, however, they went into the country, their ſituation *again precluded them from getting the ſame information as other men.* Mr. H. Roſs, examined among others, ſays, that as to the information which may have been gotten by thoſe holding high commands in the Weſt Indies, he cannot ſpeak decidedly; but if it be meant to know whether ſuch, on occaſional viſits to eſtates, were likely to obtain a thorough knowledge of the treatment of ſlaves, *he thinks they could not.* He has *often* accompanied *Governors and Admirals* in their tours there. The eſtates viſited, belonging to perſons of diſtinction, might be ſuppoſed under *the beſt management.* Beſides *all poſſible care* would be taken to *keep every diſguſting object from view*, and *on no account* by the exerciſe of the whip or other puniſhments, *to harrow up the feelings of perſons of ſuch diſtinction.*

The above accounts ſhew that the *rank and ſituation* of the *Admirals* precluded them from ſeeing as much as others, or in other words, that *their opportunities of information were not as great as thoſe of other men.* Many other circumſtances may be cited to prove the ſame thing. Among theſe are the preambles and clauſes of certain laws, and extracts from the Weſt Indian publick prints. To begin with the former.

Bahama Iſlands.—So lately as in 1784, it was enacted there, that "if "any ſlave ſhall abſent him or herſelf from his or her owner, for the "ſpace of three months ſucceſſively, ſuch ſlave ſhall be deemed an out-"law, and, as an encouragement to apprehend and bring to juſtice ſuch "runaways, any perſon or perſons who ſhall apprehend any ſuch run-

" away, *either alive or dead*, ſhall be paid out of the publick treaſury " twenty pounds, for every ſlave ſo apprehended and taken," &c. *

St. Chriſtopher's.—" An Act to prevent the cutting off or depriving any " ſlaves in this iſland of any of their limbs or members, or otherwiſe " diſabling them."—Paſſed March 11th, 1784.

" Whereas ſome perſons have of late been guilty of *cutting off and* " *depriving ſlaves of their ears*, which practice is contrary to the prin- " ciples of humanity and diſhonourable to ſociety; for prevention where- " of in future, be it enacted by the Governor, &c. That if any owner " or poſſeſſor of any negro or other ſlave in this iſland, ſhall wilfully " and wantonly cut or diſable, or cauſe or procure to be cut out or diſabled " *the tongue*; put out, or cauſe or procure to be put out, *an eye*; ſlit *the* " *noſe, ear, or lip*, or cut off a noſe, ear, or lip, or cauſe the ſame to " be done; or break or cauſe to be broken, *the arm, leg, or any other* " *limb, or member* of any negro," &c. The penalty is 500l. currency, or " about 300l. ſterling, and ſix months impriſonment." †

Barbadoes.—" An Act to prevent diſtempered, maimed, and worn out " negroes, from infeſting the towns, ſtreets, and highways of this iſ- " land."—Paſſed Jan. 18, 1785.

" Whereas it has, for ſome time paſt, been the cruel practice of " ſome perſons poſſeſſing negroes, who, from *their old age and infirmi-* " *ties, are incapable of further ſervice* to their inhuman owners, to drive " them from their plantations to *beg, ſteal, or ſtarve*, which ſaid unhap- " py objects are *daily* infeſting the publick ſtreets of the ſeveral towns " in this iſland," &c. The penalty to ſuch owner is 5l. currency, or a- bout 3l. 12s. ſterling; and the act ordains that thoſe unhappy objects ſhall be taken home to their maſters. ‖

Grenada, 1788.—" Whereas the laws heretofore made for the pro- " tection of ſlaves have been found *inſufficient*; And whereas humani- " ty and the intereſt of the colony require that ſalutary and adequate " regulations and proviſions ſhould be adopted for rendering their ſer- " vitude as limited and eaſy as poſſible, and for promoting the increaſe " of their population; as the moſt likely means of *removing* in the " courſe of time, *the neceſſity of further importations of negroes from* " Africa; And whereas theſe deſirable ends cannot be ſo effectually " obtained as *by preſcribing reaſonable bounds to the power of maſters*, and " others having the charge of ſlaves, by *compelling* them *ſufficiently* and " *properly to lodge, feed, clothe, and maintain them*," &c.

As to the extracts from the Weſt Indian publick prints, the follow- ing, among many others, may ſuffice:—

From the Jamaica paper, called the Cornwall Chronicle, of Decem- ber 29, 1787, it appears, That an addition to the Conſolidated Slave Law was propoſed in theſe terms:—

* Privy Council's Report, Part III. † Ibid. ‖ Privy Council's Report.

" Whereas the *extreme cruelties* and *inhumanity* of the managers, " overſeers, and book-keepers of eſtates, have frequently driven ſlaves " into the woods, and occaſioned rebellions and internal inſurrections, " to the great prejudice of the proprietors, and the manifeſt danger of " the lives of the inhabitants of this iſland; for prevention whereof, " be it enacted," &c. " And whereas alſo, it *frequently* happens, that " ſlaves *come to their deaths* by *haſty and ſevere blows* and other *impro-* " *per treatment* of overſeers and book-keepers, *in the heat of paſſion*, and, " when ſuch accidents do happen, the victims are entered in the plan- " tation-books, as *having died of convulſions, fits, or other cauſes not to* " *be accounted for*, and to conceal the real truth of the cauſe of the " death of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, he or they is or are *immediately put un-* " *der ground*," &c.

The member (Mr. *Gray*) who introduced the above, premiſed, " That to his own certain knowledge, very *unnatural puniſhments* were " *often* inflicted on negroes; and that, in *ſeveral inſtances*, he had been " *obliged to interpoſe as a magiſtrate*, to prevent actual rebellion from " ſuch inhuman treatment.

In the Jamaica paper, called the Gazette of St. Jago de la Vega, dated October 11, 1787, we number 97 runaway ſlaves advertiſed, viz. 45 " branded" and 52 without " brands." Among the former is " Wil- " liam, marked on the right ſhoulder R A, heart and diamond between, " and on the left R A, heart at top," alſo " Batty on both ſhoulders H P in " one," and " Guy marked, on the right ſhoulder W D, and on the left " I H."—In the ſame Gazette, dated November 8th, 1787, there are notified 23 runaways marked, and 44 unmarked. Among thoſe marked is " Apollo WS, on his face and breaſt,"—" Robert R P on each cheek, " and Kingſton marked YORKE on each ſhoulder and breaſts."—We find, in the Cornwall Chronicle of Jamaica, dated December 15, 1778, " 84 runaways advertiſed, 13 of whom only are branded." Among theſe are " Pompey, a creole negro man, marked on both ſhoulders and " breaſts M L, diamond on top," James a carpenter " branded on both " cheeks" and " Billy belonging to the King, marked broad arrow, on " the ſhoulder."—In the Kingſton Morning Poſt, of April 8th, 1789, ſeven runaways, from one owner are advertiſed, namely " a fiſherman, " a taylor, a ſhipwright, a ſempſtreſs, and three other wenches." In the ſame paper we find, " an old grey-headed Coromantee man," a runaway; alſo another taylor " marked on both ſhoulders I T, and right " ſhoulder R G."—In the Cornwall Chronicle of Oct. 10, 1789, a runaway is advertiſed named Prince, " branded on the back, with a " *cattle mark* TH."—In the Kingſton Morning Poſt, of Nov. 4, 1789, we find again, ſeven runaways from one proprietor, viz. " an old " woman with her two ſons and two daughters, one of them very " big with child," alſo a field negro and a carpenter. In the ſupplement to the Cornwall Chronicle of Nov. 7, 1789, there are 135 run-

aways advertiſed, viz. 48 with, and 87 without brands. Of the former ſome have *two, three, and four brands in the face, breaſts, and ſhoulders.* One in particular is "marked D E on both cheeks and left ſhoul-"der." Among thoſe not branded is "a woman with a wooden leg." One man is diſtinguiſhed by having "*both ears cropt,*" and another by "*his noſe and ears being cut off.*"——In the Jamaica Daily Advertiſer of Feb. 11, 1791, we find ſix runaways advertiſed by one owner, viz. two men and four women, beſides a girl child of one of the latter. Both the men and two of the women are of one family, being an old woman, her brother, her ſon, and her grand nephew (marked R D C) and who abſented themſelves at different times.—An advertiſement in the Jamaica Daily Advertiſer of Feb. 24, 1791, begins thus:—"Feb. 22, 1791, Eſcaped "on Sunday laſt *with a chain and collar round his neck*, a negro man of the "Mandingo country, marked TY 4 on top," &c.

In the Barbadoes Gazette of Jan. 14, 1784, the reader will find this advertiſement——

"Abſented herſelf from the ſervice of the ſubſcriber, a yellow ſkin ne-"gro wench, named Sarah Deroral," whoſe perſon and ſurmiſed place of concealment, being very particularly deſcribed, the advertiſement ends with theſe words "*Whoever will apprehend the ſaid wench* ALIVE "*or* DEAD, *ſhall receive two moidores reward from*

JOSEPH CHARLES HOWARD."

The clauſes, preambles, and advertiſements juſt cited will, it is preſumed, without any farther extracts, bring additional conviction to the mind of the reader, that the Admirals *could have known little or nothing about the treatment of the ſlaves* during their reſidence in the iſland: for they ſhew, firſt, that the ſlaves have been inſufficiently fed, lodged, and clothed; that they have been under the power of the maſter and overſeer to an unreaſonable degree; that they have been often turned adrift, when incapable of labour, "to beg, ſteal, or ſtarve;" that their ears and noſes have been ſlit and cut off; that they have been alſo otherwiſe diſfigured as well as deprived of limbs and members; that they have been ſuddenly murdered and buried; and that in ſome caſes where they have run away, rewards have been offered to indifferent perſons to bring them to their owners alive or dead. They ſhew, ſecondly, that theſe different circumſtances have happened, and that many of them muſt have been *notorious* (or why were laws introduced by the coloniſts themſelves for their prevention?) *ſince the year* 1783, for the dates of the ſeveral acts or advertiſements are in 1784, 1785, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1791. But if they muſt have been *notorious* ſince the year 1783, it is clear (the treatment of the ſlaves having improved though not kept pace with the improvement of the age) that *they muſt have been equally notorious previous to* the year 1783, that is to ſay, at the very time the Admirals were in the different iſlands with their re-

ſpective fleets. Now the Admirals are as ſilent about theſe notorious facts in their evidence, as if they had never exiſted at all. If they knew them and concealed them (which we cannot believe) their evidence is unworthy of reſpect upon this occaſion; and if they did not know them, it only confirms what has been ſaid before, that *they had not the ſame opportunities as other men*, and that they were therefore *incompetent* as evidences upon ſo great a queſtion.

The Admirals again have ſhewn themſelves egregiouſly ignorant of of *a moſt notorious law*, a law too, which exiſts at the preſent day, namely, "that the evidence of a ſlave is not valid againſt any white man." Had they been acquainted with this, they would have perceived inſtantly that it was in any maſter's power to * torture or even murder his ſlave with impunity, and this in the ſight of a thouſand black ſpectators, provided he only took care that no white perſon beheld him. Had they known this, they would have perceived the unprotected ſtate of the ſlaves, and would never have ſpoken as they have. It is impoſſible, therefore, that they could have become acquainted with this law, and this only brings us to the ſame concluſion as before, viz. *their incapacity as evidences on the ſubject of the treatment of the ſlaves.*

Before the Preface is cloſed, it may be neceſſary to anticipate, that ſome one may aſk the Editor, why he has given in this Abſtract the Evidence on the part of the Petitioners only, and omitted that which has been adduced on the other ſide. To this the Editor might reply, that it is the buſineſs of the Slave-merchants and Planters if they think their caſe defenſible by the evidence they have produced, to do it, but he would rather wiſh to reply, THAT IT IS UNNECESSARY: for admitting the witneſſes on the part of the Slave-merchants and Planters *never to have ſeen among them all even one ſingle inſtance of enormity*, either in Africa, or on the Middle Paſſage, or in the Weſt Indies, (which none of them will pretend to aſſert) *this negative evidence* can make nothing againſt the numberleſs *poſitive and ſpecifick facts* mentioned in this Abſtract to *have fallen under the eyes* of the witneſſes on the other ſide. Theſe poſitive and ſpecifick inſtances *muſt therefore ſtill ſtand uncontradicted and true.* They muſt ſtill ſtand *as having poſitively happened:* and if but a ſmall part of them only did ever happen, this ſmall part would be a ſufficient reaſon for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade.

* Though the reader has ſeen laws enacted to prevent maſters from cutting off the ears and noſes of their ſlaves, and being guilty of other cruelties, he is not to imagine that the maſter cannot do them now as heretofore; for it is clear, that while a ſlave's evidence is not admiſſible againſt a white man, he may do them with impunity at the preſent day.

BRITISH
13 OCT 85
MUSEUM

AN

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

NAMES OF THE WITNESSES

EXAMINED BY THE

Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons,

ON THE PART OF

THE PETITIONERS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

BAILLIE (GEORGE, Eſq.) reſided 25 years in *South Carolina* and *Georgia*, firſt as a merchant, afterwards as a planter, and then as Commiſſary General of *Georgia*. He was in *Jamaica* alſo from about December, 1778, to February or March, 1779.—[Book III. p. 181. of the Original Evidence*.]

Beverly, (William, Eſq. Lincoln's Inn) was born in *Virginia*, and lived there the firſt 16 years of his life: he returned in 1786, and reſided afterwards above two years in different parts of *America*.—[IV. 215.]

Botham, (Henry, Eſq.) went to the *Weſt Indies* in 1770, and, in about two years, viſited all the iſlands, Engliſh and French, and was employed by Government in *Grenada*. He directed a ſugar eſtate for a ſhort time in the *Weſt Indies*, but he carried on ſugar works many years at *Bencoolen* in the *Eaſt Indies*.—[IV. 241.]

Bowman, (Mr. John) was in the African employ, from 1765 to 1776, moſtly on the *Windward Coaſt*, as third, ſecond, and chief mate. He was alſo eight months reſident as a factor at the head of the *River Sierra Leon*, and ſeventeen or eighteen months at that of the *River Scaſſus* in *Africa*.—[IV. 112.]

Clapham, (John, Eſq.) was upwards of twenty years in *Maryland*.—[IV. 249.]

Clappeſon, (Mr. Thomas) was at *Jamaica* in 1762 and 1763, and from 1768 to 1778, and from 1786 to 1789. For the firſt two years he

* The Evidence, according to the method in which it was printed for the Houſe of Commons, is diviſible into four Parts: the Roman Capitals therefore ſhew the part in which the Evidence of the perſon is to be found, and the Figures the Page where it begins, for the ſatisfaction of ſuch as may be in poſſeſſion of the Original Books.

was in the ſeafaring line, but the reſt of the time as wharfinger and pilot.—[IV. 207.]

Claxton, (Mr Ecroide) failed in the Garland, for *Africa*, in 1788, as ſurgeon's mate, and there, on the *Bonny Coaſt*, commenced ſurgeon to the Young Hero ſlave-veſſel.—[IV. 23.]

Cook, (Captain) of the 89th regiment, was in *Barbadoes*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Kitts*, &c. in 1870 and 1781. [IV.—199.]

Cook, (Mr. Mark) arrived in *Jamaica* in 1774, and left it 1790; was three years in the planting buſineſs: the reſt of the time as clerk and ſchoolmaſter there.—[IV 889.]

Coor, (Henry, Gent.) was in *Jamaica* fifteen years, ending in 1774, as a mill-wright, chiefly in *Weſtmoreland*, but did buſineſs in three other pariſhes.—[IV. 69.]

Crew, (Robert, Eſq.) is a native of *Virginia*, and always reſided there till 1783.—[IV. 250.]

Dalrymple, (Henry Hew, Eſq.) was lieutenant in the 75th regiment, in garriſon at *Goree*, and on various parts of the *Coaſt*, from May to the end of September, 1779. He was, on his paſſage to the *Weſt Indies*, in a ſlave veſſel two months. He was three times in the *Weſt Indies;* in 1773 at *Grenada* ſix months; in 1779 and 1780 at *Antigua*, *Barbadoes*, *Tobago*, *St. Lucia*, and *St. Chriſtopher's;* and, in 1788 and 1789, at *Grenada*, *Cariacou*, *St. Vincents*, and *Tobago*.—[III. 291.]

Davies, (The Rev. *Mr.*) reſided at *Barbadoes* fourteen years, the three laſt learning the management of a ſugar eſtate; he left it 21 years ago.—[IV. 185.]

Daviſon, (Baker) lieutenant of the late 79th regiment, was in *Jamaica* from the middle of 1771 to the end of 1783, except a few months on the *Spaniſh Main*. He alſo practiſed ſurgery in *Jamaica*.—[IV. 150.]

Dove (Mr. William) was, in 1769, a voyage to the *Coaſt* of *Africa* for ſlaves. From 1774 to 1783 he reſided at *Boſton* and *New-York*.—[III. 100.]

Douglas, (Mr. John) boatſwain of the Ruſſel man of war, was one voyage to the *Coaſt* of *Africa* for ſlaves in 1771.—[IV. 121.]

Duncan, (Mr. William) was in *Antigua* from January 1785 to July 1789, firſt as clerk in a ſtore for ſix or eight months, afterwards as overſeer for about two years and a half. The reſt of the time he kept a ſtore for himſelf.—[IV. 141.]

Elliſon, (Mr Henry) gunner of the Reſiſtance man of war, was in the ſlave trade from 1759 to 1770. He has been in many *Weſt India Iſlands*, particularly *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*. He has alſo been many voyages to *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and often on the tobacco plantations while the ſlaves were at work.—[III. 361.]

Falconbridge, (Mr. Alexander, ſurgeon) was four voyages to *Africa* for ſlaves, from 1780 or 1781 to 1787. In the firſt he was taken at *Cape Mount* in the Tartar. The other three were regular voyages [II. 581.]

Fitzmaurice, (Mr. William) was in *Jamaica* from June 1771 to March 1786, as overſeer the laſt ten years, but the former part of the time book-keeper, except for the firſt ſix months when he was clerk to a ſtore in *Kingſton*.—[IV. 205.]

Forſter, (Mr. Robert) was in every Britiſh Iſland, except *Jamaica*, in all about ſix years, ending in 1778; the firſt four years he was apprentice in a ſtore in *St. John's*, *Antigua*, the reſt of the time a midſhipman and ſecond maſter and pilot of the King's brig Endeavour. He lived among the town ſlaves, and often went to collect

debts and viſit managers in the country. When in the King's ſhip, he ſpent much of his time among them.—[IV. 129.]

Giles, (Mr. John) farmer, near *Hay, Brecknockſhire*, was in *Montſerrat* from 1757 to 1762, in *Grandterre* in 1763, in *Grenada* 1764 and part of 1765, in *North America* the reſt of 1765, in *St. Croix* from 1774 to 1778.—[IV. 74.]

Giles, (Captain) of the 19th regiment of foot, was in *Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Lucia* and *Jamaica*, from June 1782 to April 1790, except about 14 or 15 months in England.—[IV. 103.]

Hall, (Captain) of the Royal Navy, was at *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Iſlands* from 1769 to 1773, and from 1780 to 1782 at thoſe places, and at *Jamiaca* and *St. Domingo*.—[IV. 99.]

Hall, (Captain *John Aſhely)* now in the *Weſt India* trade from *London*, was in the *African* trade from 1772 to 1776 incluſive. He made two voyages to *Africa* for ſlaves as third, ſecond, and chief mate.—[II. 513.]

Harriſon, (M. D.) was upwards of ten years in *Jamaica*, from 1755 to 1765, and in *America* from 1765 to 1778, and in the medical line in both.—[IV. 44.]

Hills, (Captain *John)* of the Royal Navy, was at *Goree* and up the *Gambia*, as commander of his Majeſty's ſloop Zephyr, at the end of 1781 and beginning of 1782, in all about ſix months.—[III. 176.]

How, (Anthony Pantaleo, Eſq.) was in *Africa* in 1785 and 1786, chiefly on the *Gold Coaſt*, in the Grampus man of war, employed by government as a botaniſt.—[III. 219.]

Jackſon, (Robert, M. D.) went to *Jamaica* in 1774, and reſided there four years, chiefly at *Savanna-la-Mar*, where he practiſed medicine. His profeſſion led him daily eight or ten or more miles into the country. He has occaſionally been in moſt parts of the iſland. He went alſo to *America* to join his regiment (the 71ſt) in 1778, with which he went through all the ſouthern provinces.—[III. 54.]

Jeffreys, (Mr. Ninian) Maſter in the Royal Navy, was at *Jamaica* in 1773, *Tobago* 1774, *Jamaica* 1775, *Grenada* 1776, *Tortola* 1779, as mate of a Weſt Indiaman, and employed in taking off ſugars from the different eſtates, but in 1782 *Antigua*, and *St. Kitts* 1783, and at *Jamaica* a few days in 1784, in the Royal Navy.—[III. 231.]

Kiernan, (James, Eſq.) was in *Africa* in 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, to learn the nature of the trade, to carry it on. He reſided on the *R. Senegal*.—[IV. 237.]

Lloyd, (Captain *Thomas)* in the Royal Navy, was in the *Weſt Indies* in 1779. He commanded his Majeſty's ſhip Glaſgow, and was burnt out of her in *Montego Bay, Jamaica*.—[IV. 147.]

Millar, (Mr. George) Gunner of his Majeſty's ſhip Pegaſe, has been in *Africa*. His laſt voyage was to *Old Calabar* in 1767, in the ſhip Canterbury, Captain Sparkes.—[III. 385.]

Morely, (Mr. James) Gunner of his Majeſty's ſhip Medway, made ſix voyages to *Africa*, the firſt in 1760, the laſt in 1776. He has been ever ſince in the King's ſervice. He has viſited moſt parts of *Africa* from the beginning of the *Gold Coaſt* to *Angola*.—[III. 149.]

Newton, (the Rev. *John)* Rector of *St. Mary, Woolnoth*, made five voyages to *Africa;* in the laſt in 1754 he was maſter of a ſlave ſhip. He lived on ſhore about a year and a half, chiefly at the iſland of *Plantanes*, at the mouth of the *R. Sherbro*.—[III. 137.]

Nicholls, (the Rev. *Robert Boucher)* Dean of *Middleham, Yorkſhire*, was born in *Barbadoes*, and reſided there ſome years in his youth, and two years after he was of age, from 1768 to 1770, when in holy

orders. In his laſt reſidence, he lived on a very large plantation, and obſerved the management of that and the ſurrounding eſtates. —[III. 326.]

Parker, (Mr. Iſaac) ſhip-keeper of the Melampus frigate, ſailed in 1764 to the *R. Gambia*, and in 1765 to *Old Calabar*. He lived five months on ſhore at *New Calabar*. He has been more than once in the *Weſt Indies*, in *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, the *Grenades*, &c.—[III. 122.]

Rooke, (Major General) was in *Africa*, at *Goree*, from May 6, to Aug. 16, 1779.—[III. 45.]

Rees, (the Rev. Thomas Gwynn) arrived at *Barbadoes* in the end of 1782, as Chaplain of his Majeſty's ſhip Princeſs Amelia. During the ſix weeks he was there he viſited the plantations within four or five miles of *Bridge-town*. He was between two and three months alſo at *St. Lucia*.—[III. 247.]

Roſs, (Hercules, Eſq.) reſided from 1761 to 1782 chiefly in *Jamaica*, and occaſionally in *Hiſpaniola*. He was in every pariſh in the former iſland.—[IV. 252.]

Roſs, (Captain *Robert)* was from 1762 to 1786 in *Jamaica*. He was for three years and a half a book-keeper, and afterwards an overſeer on three eſtates. He then commanded a company of Rangers for ſix years. In 1775 he ſettled a property of his own, and reſided on it from 1781 to 1786.—[IV. 63.]

Savage, (John, Eſq.) reſided in *Carolina* from 1729 to 1775.—[IV. 247.]

Scott, (Captain *Alexander)* of the Royal Navy, was from *Senegal* to *C. Coaſt* in his Majeſty's ſhip Merlin, in 1769. He has alſo been in the *Weſt Indies*.—[IV. 178.]

Simpſon, (Lieut. *John)* of the Marines, went out in his Majeſty's ſhip Adventure, and was on the *Coaſt* of *Africa*, chiefly from *Cettra Crue* to *Accra*, in 1788 and 1789.—[IV. 40.]

Smith, (Captain *John Samuel)* of the Royal Navy, was in the *Weſt Indies* in 1772, 1777, and 1778, for above a year altogether.—[IV. 136.]

Storey, (Lieut. *Richard)* in the Royal Navy, was from 1766 to 1770, on every part of the *Coaſt* from *S Leon* to the *R. Gabon*.—[IV. 3.]

Stuart, (the Rev. *James)* viſited many of the *Weſt India Iſlands*, Engliſh and French, in 1768 and 1772, when he returned to *America*. He had a twenty years acquaintance with the condition of ſlaves upon that continent.—[IV. 175.]

Terry, (Mr. John) was in *Grenada* from 1776 to 1790, the firſt ſeven or eight years as an overſeer, then a manager*.—[IV. 107.]

Terry, (Mr. Matthew) was four years in *Dominique* as book-keeper and overſeer, one at *Tobago* as land-ſurveyor, in the King's ſervice, and ſeven in *Grenada*, ending in 1781, as a colony ſurveyor.—[IV. 82.]

Thompſon, (Captain *Thomas Bolton)* of the Royal Navy was ſecond lieutenant of the Grampus in 1784 1785, and 1786, and commanded his Majeſty's ſhip the Nautilus in 1787, in carrying out the Black Poor to *Sierra Leon*, where he was from the beginning of May, to the end of September,—[III. 167.]

Tottenham, (Major-General) went out to the *Weſt-Indies* in 1779, with four regiments under his command. He was about twenty months in *Barbadoes* and ſome time at *St. Lucia*, *St. Kitts*, and *St. Euſtatius*. —[III. 125.]

* The chief perſon who ſuperintends a ſugar eſtate, is called in Jamaica the overſeer, and in the Windward Iſlands the manager, where the driver is often called overſeer.

Town, (Mr. James) Carpenter of his Majeſty's ſhip Syren, made two voyages in 1760 and 1768 to the *Iſles de Los* and *Grand Cape Mount*. In the firſt he was between ſeven and eight months on the Coaſt as a boy; in the ſecond, as carpenter, he ſtaid more than ſix months.—[IV. 15.]

Trotter, (Thomas, M. D.) Surgeon in the Royal Navy, was a voyage in the *African* ſlave trade, from *Liverpool*, in 1783, as ſurgeon of the Brookes, Captain Noble. He was ten months on the coaſt.—[III. 80.]

Wadſtrom, (Charles Berns, Eſq.) Chief Director of the Aſſay Office in *Sweden*, was in *Africa* near three months, in 1787 and 1788, with Doctor Spaarman, engaged by the King of *Sweden* to make diſcoveries.—[III. 18, and 19.]

Wilſon, (Captain *Thomas)* of the Royal Navy, was between five and ſix months in *Africa*, between *Cape Blanco* and the *River Gambia*, in 1783 and 1784, as commander of his Majeſty's ſhip Race-horſe: he was ſent out to embark the troops and ſtores from *Goree*.—[III. 3, and 4.]

Wilſon, (Mr. Iſaac) Surgeon in the Navy, made one voyage to *Africa* in the Elizabeth, Smith from *London*. He ſailed the 10th of May, 1788, and returned 6th of December, 1789—[II. 561.]

Woodward, (George, Eſq.) is both an owner and mortgagee of property in *Barbadoes*, where he reſided in 1782 and 1783, and was alſo there in 1777.—[IV. 233.]

Woodward, (Mr. Joſeph) was in *Barbadoes* in 1788, 1789, and 1790.—[IV. 236.]

Woolrich, (Thomas, Eſq.) was in the *Weſt Indies* from 1753 to 1773; but in the interim took three trips to *England*, and two to *America*. he was in the mercantile line, chiefly at *Tortola*. He was alſo occaſionally at *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, and *St. Kitts*.—[III. 264.]

Young, (Sir George) Captain in the Royal Navy, was four voyages to *Africa*, in 1767, 1768, 1771, and 1772 from *Cape Blanco* to *Cape Lopez* including every Engliſh ſettlement, and ſome Dutch.—[III. 205.]

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DESERT of BARBARY
Tropic of Cancer
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Senegal R
C.Verd
Gorée I
R. Gambia
Galam
MUNDINGOES
R. Sierra Leona
R. Sherbro
R. Galenas
C. Mount
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WHIDAH
R. Benin
R. N. Calabar
R. Bonny
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R. Del Rey
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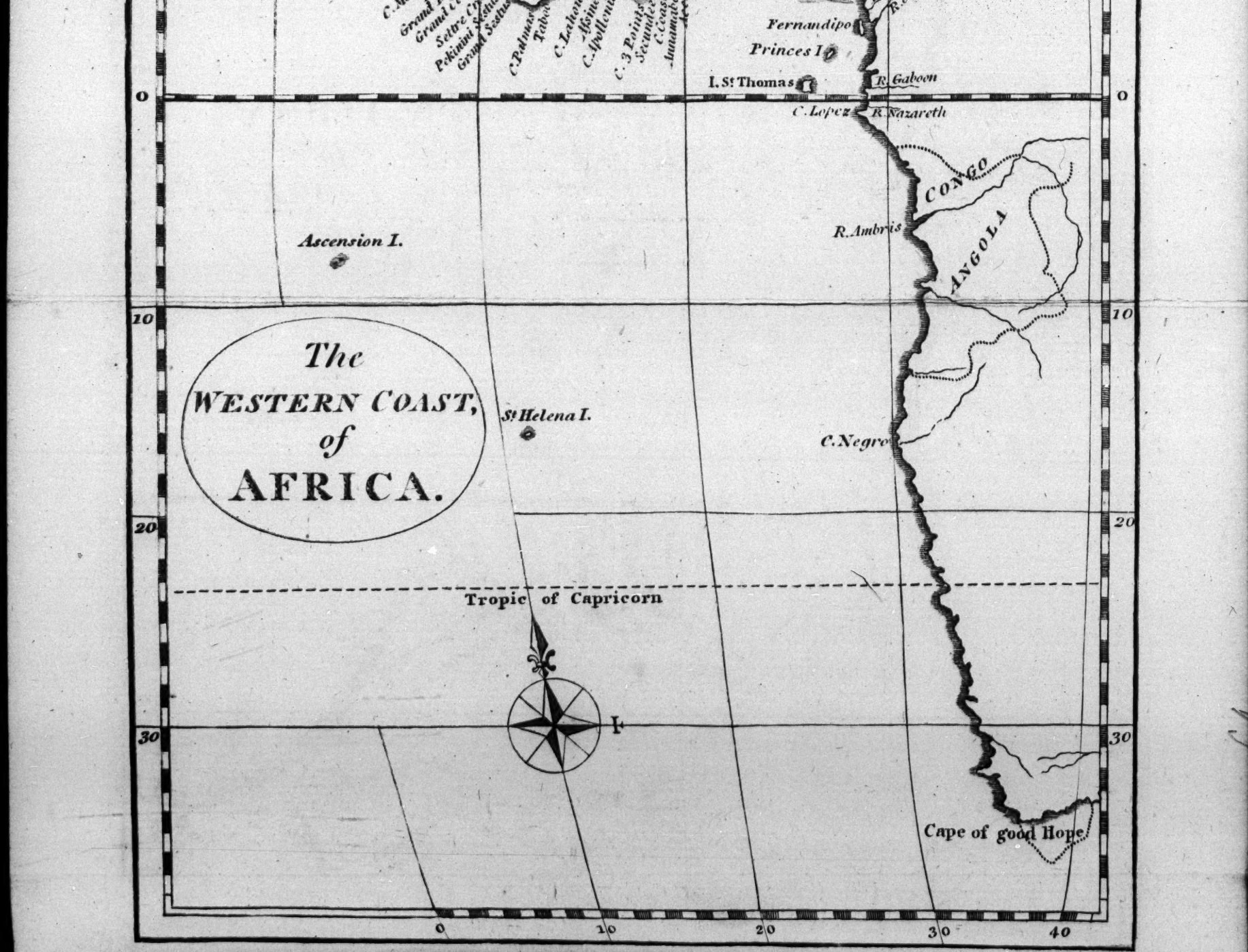


The WESTERN COAST, of AFRICA.

Manner of making SLAVES from the RIVER SENEGAL, to the RIVER AMBRIS.

CHAP. I.

The Enormities committed by the Natives of Africa on the Perſons of one another, to procure Slaves for the Europeans—proved by the teſtimony of ſuch as have viſited that Continent,—and confirmed by Accounts from the Slaves themſelves, after their arrival in the Weſt Indies.

THE Trade for Slaves, (ſays Mr. Kiernan) in the River Senegal, was chiefly with the Moors, on the Northern Banks, who got them very often by war, and not ſeldom by kidnapping; that is, lying in wait near a village, where there was *no open war*, and ſeizing whom they could.

He has often heard of villages, and ſeen the remains of ſuch, broken up by making the people ſlaves.

That the Moors uſed to croſs the Senegal *to catch* the negroes, was ſpoken of at Fort Louis as notorious; and he has ſeen inſtances of it where the perſons ſo taken were ranſomed.

General Rooke ſays, that kidnapping took place in the neighbourhood of Goree. It was ſpoken of as a common practice. It was reckoned diſgraceful there, but he cannot ſpeak of the opinion about it on the Continent. He remembers two or three inſtances of negroes being brought to Goree, who had been kidnapped, but he could not diſcover by whom. At their own requeſt he immediately ſent them back.

Mr. Dalrymple found that the great droves (called Caffellas or Caravans) of ſlaves brought from inland, by way of Galam, to Senegal and Gambia, were priſoners of war. Thoſe ſold to veſſels at Goree, and near it, were procured either by the grand pillage, the leſſer pillage, or by robbery of individuals, or in conſequence of crimes. The grand pillage is executed by the king's ſoldiers, from three hundred to three thouſand at a time, who attack and ſet fire to a village, and ſeize the inhabitants as they can. The ſmaller parties generally lie in wait about the villages, and take off all they can ſurpriſe; which is alſo done by individuals, who do not belong to the king, but are private robbers. Theſe ſell their

prey on the coaſt, where it is well known no queſtions as to the means of obtaining it are aſked.

As to kidnapping it is ſo notorious about Goree, that he never heard any perſon deny it there. Two men while he was there offered a perſon, a meſſenger from Senegal to Rufiſco, for ſale to the garriſon, who even boaſted how they had obtained him. Many alſo were brought to Goree while he was there, procured in the ſame manner.

Theſe depredations are alſo practiſed by the Moors: he ſaw many ſlaves in Africa who told him they were taken by them; particularly three, one of whom was a woman, who cried very much, and ſeemed to be in great diſtreſs; the two others were more reconciled to their fate.

Captain Wilſon ſays, that ſlaves are either procured by inteſtine wars, or kings breaking up villages, or crimes real or imputed, or kidnapping.

Villages are broken up by the king's troops ſurrounding them in the night, and ſeizing ſuch of the inhabitants as ſuit their purpoſe. This practice is moſt common when there is no war with another ſtate.

It is univerſally acknowledged that free perſons are ſold for real or *imputed* crimes, *for the benefit of their judges.*

Soon after his arrival at Goree, king Damel ſent a free man to him for ſale, and was to have the price *himſelf.* One of the king's guards being aſked whether the man was guilty of the crime imputed to him, anſwered, *that was of no conſequence, or ever inquired into.* Captain Wilſon returned the man.

Kidnapping was acknowledged by all he converſed with to be generally prevalent. It is the firſt principle of the natives, the principle of ſelf-preſervation, *never to go unarmed,* while *a ſlave veſſel* is on the coaſt, for fear of being ſtolen. When he has met them thus armed, and inquired of them through his interpreter, the reaſon of it, they have pointed to a French ſlave veſſel then lying at Portudal, and ſaid their fears aroſe from that quarter. As a poſitive inſtance, he ſays, a courier of Captain Lacy's, his predeceſſor, though a Moor, a free man, and one who ſpoke the French language fluently, was kidnapped as he was travelling on the Continent with diſpatches on his Britannick Majeſty's account, and ſold to a French veſſel, from which he, Captain Wilſon, after much trouble, actually got him back.

When he preſided in a court at Goree, a Maraboo ſwore, with an energy which evinced the truth of his evidence, that his brother, another Maraboo, had been kidnapped in the act of drinking, a moment *known* to be *ſacred* by their religion,

at the inſtigation of a former governor, who had taken a diſlike to him. This was a matter notorious at Goree.

Mr. Wadſtrom knows ſlaves to be procured between Senegal and Gambia, either by the general pillage, or by robbery by individuals, or by ſtratagem and deceit.

The general pillage is executed by the king's troops on horſeback, armed, who ſeize the unprepared. Mr. Wadſtrom, during the week he was at Joal, accompanying one of thoſe embaſſies which the French governor ſends yearly with preſents to the black kings, *to keep up* the ſlave trade, ſaw parties ſent out *for this purpoſe*, by king Barbeſin, almoſt every day. Theſe parties went out generally in the *evening*, and were armed with bows and arrows, guns, piſtols, ſabres, and long lances.

The king of Sallum practiſes the pillage alſo. Mr. Wadſtrom ſaw twenty-ſeven ſlaves from Sallum, twenty-three of whom were women and children, thus taken.

He was told alſo by merchants at Goree, that king Damel practiſes the pillage in like manner.

Robbery was a general way of taking ſingle ſlaves. He once ſaw a woman and a boy in the ſlave hold at Goree; the latter had been taken by ſtealth from his parents in the interior parts above Cape Rouge, and he declared, that ſuch robberies were very frequent in his country; the former, at Rufiſco, from her huſband and children. He could ſtate *ſeveral inſtances* of ſuch robberies. He very often ſaw negroes thus taken brought to Goree. Ganna of Dacard was a noted *man ſtealer*, and employed as ſuch by the ſlave merchants there.

As inſtances of ſtratagem employed to obtain ſlaves, he relates, that a French merchant taking a fancy to a negro, who was on a viſit at Dacard, perſuaded the village, for a certain price, to ſeize him. He was accordingly taken from his wife, who wiſhed to accompany him, but the Frenchman had not merchandize enough to buy both. Mr. Wadſtrom ſaw this negro at Goree, the day he arrived from Dacard, chained, and lying on the ground, exceedingly diſtreſſed in his mind.

The king of Sallum alſo prevailed on a woman to come into his kingdom, and ſell him ſome millet. On her arrival, he ſeized and ſold her to a French officer, with whom Mr. Wadſtrom ſaw this woman every day while at Goree.

Mr. Wadſtrom was on the iſland of St. Louis, up the Senegal alſo, and on the continent near the river, and ſays, that all the ſlaves ſold at Senegal, are brought down the river, except thoſe taken by the *robbery* of the Moors in the neighbourhood, which is ſometimes conducted by large parties, in what are called *petty wars*.

Captain Hills ſaw while lying between Goree and the continent, the natives, in an evening, often go out in war dreſſes, as he found *to obtain ſlaves* for king Damel, to be ſold. The reaſon was, that the king *was then poor*, not having received his uſual dues from us. He never ſaw the parties that went out return with ſlaves, but has often ſeen ſlaves in their huts tied back to back. He remembers alſo, that ſome robbers once brought him a man bound on board the Zephir, to ſell, but he, Capt. Hills, would not buy him, but ſuffered him to eſcape.

The natives on the continent oppoſite to Goree *all go armed*, he imagines for fear of being taken.

When in the River Gambia, wanting ſervants on board his ſhip, he expreſſed a wiſh for ſome volunteers. A black pilot in the boat called two boys who were on ſhore, carrying baſkets of ſhallots, and aſked Capt. Hills if they *would do*, in which caſe he would *take them off*, and bring them to him. This he declined. From the eaſe with which the pilot did it, he concludes this was cuſtomary.

The black pilot ſaid the *merchantmen* would *not refuſe ſuch an offer*. He apprehends theſe two boys were *free people*, from the pilot's mode of ſpeaking, and from his winking, implying it was an illicit thing.

A boy, whom he bought from the merchants in the ſame river, had been carried in the night from his father's houſe, where a ſkirmiſh had happened, in which he believes he ſaid both his parents, but he well remembers, one were killed. The boy ſaid many were killed, and ſome taken.

Mr. Elliſon ſpoke the Mundingo language, in conſequence of which he has often converſed with ſlaves from the Gambia, to which river he made three voyages, and they univerſally informed him, that they had been *ſtolen* and ſold.

The natives up the River Scaſſus informed Mr. Bowman, that they had got two women and a girl, whom they then brought him, in a ſmall town which they had ſurpriſed in the night; that others had got off, but they expected the reſt of the party would bring them in, in two or three days. When theſe arrived, they brought with them two men whom Mr. Bowman knew, and had traded with formerly; upon queſtioning them, he diſcovered the women he had bought to be their wives. Both men and women informed him, that the war-men had taken them *while aſleep*.

The war-men uſed to go out, Mr. Bowman ſays, once or twice in eight or ten days, while he was at Scaſſus. It was

their conſtant way of getting ſlaves, he believed, becauſe they always came to the factory before ſetting out, and demanded powder, ball, gun flints, and ſmall ſhot; alſo rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When ſupplied, they blew the horn, made the war cry, and ſet off. If they met with no ſlaves, they would bring him ſome ivory and camwood. Sometimes he accompanied them a mile or ſo, and once joined the party, anxious to know by what means they obtained the ſlaves. Having travelled all day, they came to a ſmall river, when he was told they had but a little way farther to go. Having croſſed the river, they ſtopped till dark. Here Mr. Bowman (it was about the middle of the night) was afraid to go farther, and prevailed on the king's ſon to leave him a guard of four men. In half an hour he heard the war cry, by which he underſtood they had reached a town. In about half an hour more they returned, bringing from twenty-five to thirty men, women and children, ſome at the breaſt. At this time he ſaw the town *in flames*. When they had re-croſſed the river, it was juſt day light, and they reached Scaſſus about mid-day. The priſoners were carried to different parts of the town. They are uſually brought in with ſtrings around their necks, and ſome have their hands tied acroſs. He never ſaw any ſlaves there who had been convicted of crimes.

He has been called up in the night to ſee *fires*, and told by the towns people *that it was war carrying on.*

Whatever rivers he has traded in, ſuch as Sierra Leon, Junk, and Little Cape Mount, he has uſually paſſed burnt and deſerted villages, and learned from the natives in the boat with him, that *war had been there, and the natives had been taken in the manner as before deſcribed, and carried to the ſhips.*

He has alſo ſeen ſuch upon the *Coaſt*: while trading at Grand Baſſau, he went on ſhore with four black traders to the town a mile off. In the way, there was a town deſerted, (with only two or three houſes ſtanding) which ſeemed to have been a large one, as there were two fine plantations of rice ready for cutting down. A little further on they came to another village in much the ſame ſtate. He was told the firſt town had been taken by war, there *being many ſhips then lying at Baſſau*: the people of the other had moved higher up in the country *for fear of the white men.* In paſſing along to the trader's town he ſaw ſeveral villages deſerted; theſe the natives ſaid *had been deſtroyed by war*, and the people taken out and ſold.

Sir George Young found ſlaves to be procured by war, by

crimes, *real or imputed*, by kidnapping, which is called *panyaring*, and a fourth mode was the inhabitants of one village ſeizing thoſe of another weaker village, and ſelling them to the ſhips.

He believes, from two inſtances, that kidnapping was frequently practiſed up Sierra Leon River. One was that of a beautiful infant boy, which the natives after trying to ſell to all the different trading ſhips came along ſide his, (the Phœnix) and threatened to toſs overboard, if no one would buy it; ſaying they had *panyared* it with many other people, but could not ſell it, though they had ſold the others. He purchaſed it for ſome wine.

The ſecond was, a captain of a Liverpool ſhip had got, as a temporary miſtreſs, a girl from the king of Sierra Leon, and inſtead of returning her on ſhore on leaving the coaſt, as is uſually done, he took her away with him. Of this the king complained to Sir George Young very heavily, calling this action *panyaring* by the whites.

The term *panyaring*, ſeemed to be a word generally uſed all along the coaſt where he was, not only among the Engliſh, but the Portugueſe and Dutch.

Capt. Thompſon alſo ſays, that at Sierra Leon he has often heard the word *panyaring;* he has heard alſo that this word, which is uſed on the other parts of the coaſt, means *kidnapping*, or ſeizing of men.

Slaves, ſays Mr. Town, are brought from the country very diſtant from the coaſt. The king of Barra informed Mr. Town, that on the arrival of a ſhip, he has gone three hundred miles up the country with his guards, and driven down captives to the ſea-ſide. From Marraba, king of the Mundingoes, he has heard that they had marched ſlaves out of the country ſome hundred miles; that they had gone wood-ranging, to pick up every one they met with, whom they ſtripped naked, and, if men, bound; but if women, brought down looſe; this he had from themſelves, and alſo, that they often went to *war* with the Bullam nation, *on purpoſe to get ſlaves.* They boaſted that they ſhould ſoon have a fine parcel for the ſhallops, and the ſucceſs often anſwered. Mr. Town has ſeen the priſoners (the men bound, the women and children looſe; driven for ſale to the water-ſide. He has alſo known the natives go in gangs *marauding* and catching all they could. In the Galenas River he knew four blacks ſeize a man who had been to the ſea-ſide to ſell one or more ſlaves. This man was returning home with the goods received in exchange for theſe, and they plundered and ſtripped him naked, and brought him

to the trading ſhallop, which Mr. Town commanded, and ſold him there.

He believes the natives alſo ſometimes become ſlaves, in conſequence of crimes, as well as, that it is no uncommon thing on the coaſt, to *impute crimes falſely for the ſake of ſelling the perſons ſo accuſed.* Several reſpectable perſons at Bance Iſland, and to windward of it, all told Mr. Town that it was common to bring on **palavers to make ſlaves*, and he believes it from the information of the ſlaves afterwards, when brought down the country and put on board the ſhips.

Off Piccaninni Seſtus, farther down on the Windward Coaſt, Mr. Dove obſerved an inſtance of a girl being kidnapped and brought on board by one Ben Johnſon, a black trader, who had ſcarcely left the ſhip in his canoe, with the price of her, when another canoe with two black men came in a hurry to the ſhip, and inquired concerning this girl. Having been allowed to ſee her, they hurried down to their canoe, and haſtily paddled off. Overtaking Ben Johnſon, they brought him back to the ſhip, got him on the quarter-deck, and call-him *teefee* (which implies *thief*) to the captain, offered him for ſale. Ben Johnſon remonſtrated, aſking the captain, "if he would buy him whom he knew to be a grand trading man;" to which the captain anſwered, "if they would ſell him, he would certainly buy him, be what he would," which he accordingly did, and put him into irons immediately with another man. He was led to think, from this inſtance, that kidnapping was the mode of obtaining ſlaves upon this part of the coaſt.

Lieutenant Storey ſays, that ſlaves are generally obtained on the Windward Coaſt by marauding parties from one village to another in the night. He has known canoes come from a diſtance, and carry off numbers in the night. He has gone into the interior country, between Baſſau and the River Seſtus; and all the nations there *go armed, from the fear of marauding parties*, whoſe pillages in theſe countries *are termed war.*

At one time in particular, while Mr. Storey was on the coaſt, a marauding party from Grand Seſtus came in canoes, and attacked Grand Cora in the night, and took off twelve or fourteen of the inhabitants. The canoes of Grand Seſtus carry twelve or fourteen men, and with theſe go a marauding among their neighbours. Mr. Story has often ſeen them at

* An African word, which ſignifies conferences of the natives on any publick ſubject, or as in this place, *accuſations and trials.*

ſea out of ſight of land in the day, and taking the opportunity of night to land where they pleaſed.

Mr. Falconbridge ſuppoſes the ſlave trade, on theſe parts to be chiefly ſupplied by kidnapping. On his ſecond voyage, at Cape Mount and the Windward Coaſt, a man was brought on board, well known to the captain and his officers, and was purchaſed. This man ſaid he had been invited one evening to drink with his neighbours. When about to depart, two of them got up to ſeize him; and he would have eſcaped, but he was ſtopped by a large dog. He ſaid this mode of kidnapping was common in his country.

In the ſame voyage, two black traders came in a canoe, and informed the captain there was trade a little lower down. The captain went there, and finding no trade, ſaid he would not be made a fool, and therefore detained one of the canoemen. In about two hours afterwards a very fine man was brought on board, and ſold and the canoe-man was releaſed. He was informed by the black pilot, that this man had been ſurrounded and ſeized on the beach, from whence he had been brought to the ſhip and ſold.

Lieutenant Simpſon ſays, from what he ſaw, he believes the ſlave trade is the occaſion of wars among the natives. From the natives of the Windward Coaſt he underſtood that the villages were always at war; and the black traders and others gave as a reaſon for it *that the kings wanted ſlaves*. If a trading canoe, along-ſide Mr. Simpſon's ſhip, ſaw a larger canoe coming from a village they were at war with, they inſtantly fled; and ſometimes without receiving the value of their goods. On inquiry, he learned their reaſons to be that if taken they would have been made ſlaves.

Mr. How ſtates, that when at Secundee, ſome order came from Cape Coaſt Caſtle. The ſame afternoon ſeveral parties went out *armed*, and returned the ſame night with a number of ſlaves, which were put into the repoſitory of the factory. Next morning he ſaw people, who came to ſee the captives, and to requeſt Mr. Marſh, the reſident, to releaſe ſome of their children and relations. Some were releaſed, and part ſent off to Cape Coaſt Caſtle. He had every reaſon to believe they had been *obtained unfairly*, as they came at an unſeaſonable time of the night, and from their parents and friends crying and begging their releaſe. He was told as much from Mr. Marſh himſelf, who ſaid, *he did not mind how they got them, for he purchaſed them fairly*. He cannot tell whether this practice ſubſiſted before; but when he has gone

into the woods he has met thirty or forty natives, who fled always at his appearance, although they were armed. Mr. Marſh ſaid, they were afraid of his taking them priſoners.

The ſame Mr. Marſh made no ſcruple alſo of ſhewing him the ſtores of the factory. They conſiſted of different kinds of chains made of iron, as likewiſe an inſtrument made of wood, about five inches long, or an inch in diameter, or leſs, which he was told by Mr. Marſh was thruſt into a man's mouth horizontally, and tied behind *to prevent him from crying out, when tranſported at night along the country.*

Dr. Trotter ſays, that the natives of theſe parts are ſometimes ſlaves from crimes, but the greater part of the ſlaves are, *what are called* priſoners of war. Of his whole cargo he recollects only three criminals; two ſold for adultery, and one for witchcraft, whoſe whole family ſhared his fate. One of the firſt ſaid he had been *decoyed* by a woman who had told her huſband, and he was ſentenced to pay a ſlave; *but being poor, was ſold himſelf. Such ſtratagems are frequent:* the fourth mate of Dr. Trotter's ſhip was ſo decoyed, and obliged to pay a ſlave, under the threat of ſtopping trade. The laſt ſaid he had had a quarrel with a Caboſheer (or great man) who *in revenge* accuſed him of witchcraft, and ſold him and his family for ſlaves.

Dr. Trotter having often aſked Accra, a principal trader at Le Hou, what he meant by *priſoners of war*, found *they were ſuch as were carried off by a ſet of marauders, who ravage the country for that purpoſe.* The buſh-men *making war to make trade* (that is to *make ſlaves*) was a common way of ſpeaking among the traders. The practice was alſo confirmed by the ſlaves on board, who ſhewed by geſtures how the robbers had come upon them; and during their paſſage from Africa to the Weſt Indies, ſome of the boy-ſlaves played a game which they called *ſlave-taking*, or buſh-fighting; ſhewing the different manœuvres thereof in leaping, ſallying, and retreating. Inquiries of this nature put to women, were anſwered only *by violent burſts of ſorrow.*

He once ſaw a black trader ſend his canoe to take three fiſhermen employed in the offing, who were immediately brought on board, and put in irons, and about a week afterwards he was paid for them. He remembers another man taken in the ſame way from on board a canoe along-ſide. *The ſame trader very frequently ſent ſlaves on board in the night*, which, from their own information, he found, were every one of them taken in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe. He remarked, that ſlaves ſent off in the night, were not paid for

till they had been ſome time on board, leſt, he thinks, they ſhould be claimed; for ſome were really reſtored, one in particular, a boy, was carried on ſhore by ſome near relations, which boy told him, he had lived in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, and was kidnapped.

There were many boys and girls on board Dr. Trotter's ſhip, who had no relations on board. Many of them told him they had been kidnapped in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, particularly a girl of about eight years old, who ſaid ſhe had been carried off from her mother by the man who ſold her to the ſhip.

Mr. Falconbridge was aſſured by the Rev. Philip Quakoo, chaplain at Cape Coaſt Caſtle, on the Gold Coaſt, that the greateſt number of ſlaves were made by kidnapping.

He has heard that the great men on this part of the coaſt *dreſs up and employ women*, to *entice* young men to be connected with them, *that they may be convicted of adultery and ſold.*

Lieutenant Simpſon heard at Cape Coaſt Caſtle, and other parts of the Gold Coaſt, repeatedly from the black traders, that the *ſlave trade made wars and palavers.* Mr. Quakoo, chaplain at Cape Coaſt Caſtle, informed him, that wars were made in the interior parts, for the *ſole purpoſe of getting ſlaves.*

There are two crimes on the Gold Coaſt, which ſeem made on purpoſe to procure ſlaves; adultery and the removal of fetiches*. As to adultery, he was warned againſt connecting himſelf with any woman not pointed out to him, for that the kings *kept ſeveral who were ſent out to allure the unwary*, and that, if found to be connected with theſe, he would be ſeized, and made to pay the price of a man ſlave. As to fetiches, conſiſting of pieces of wood, old pitchers, kettles, and the like, laid in the path-ways, he was warned to avoid diſplacing them, for if he ſhould, the natives who were on the watch would ſeize him, and, as before, exact the price of a man ſlave. Theſe baits are laid equally for natives and Europeans, but the former are better acquainted with the law, and conſequently more upon their guard.

Mr. Elliſon ſays, that while one of the ſhips he belonged to, viz. the Briton, was lying in Benin river, Capt. Lemma, a Benin trader, came on board to receive his cuſtoms. This man being on the deck, and happening to ſee a canoe

* Certain things of various ſorts, to which the ſuperſtition of the country has ordered, for various reaſons, an attention to be paid.

with three people in it, croſſing the river, diſpatche done of his own canoes to ſeize and take it. Upon overtaking it, they brought it to the ſhip. It contained three perſons, an old man, and a young man and woman. The chief mate bought the two latter, but the former being too old, was refuſed. Upon this Lemma ordered the old man into the canoe, where his head was chopped off, and he was thrown overboard. Lemma had many war canoes, ſome of which had ſix or eight ſwivels; he ſeemed to be feared by the reſt of the natives. Mr. Elliſon did not ſee a canoe out on the river while Lemma was there, except this, and if they had known he had been out, they would not have come. He diſcovered by ſigns, that the old man killed was the father of the two other negores, and that they were brought there by force. They were not the ſubjects of Lemma.

At Bonny, ſays Mr. Falconbridge, the greateſt number of ſlaves come from inland. Large canoes, ſome having a three or four pounder laſhed on their bows, go to the up country, and in eight or ten days return with great numbers of ſlaves: he heard once, to the amount of twelve hundred at one time. The people in theſe canoes have generally cutlaſſes, and a quantity of muſkets, but he cannot tell for what uſe.

Mr. Falconbridge does not believe that many of theſe ſlaves are priſoners of war, *as we underſtand the word war.* In Africa, *a piratical expedition for making ſlaves*, is termed *war.* A conſiderable trader at Bonny explained to him the meaning of this word, and ſaid, that they went in the night, ſet fire to towns, and caught the people as they fled from the flames. The ſame trader ſaid, that this practice was very common.

Mr. Falconbridge ſays alſo, that in his third voyage, which was to Bonny, a woman was brought on board big with child. As ſhe attracted his notice, he aſked her, by means of the interpreter, how ſhe came to be ſold. Her reply was, that returning home from a viſit, ſhe was ſeized, and after being paſſed through various hands, was brought down to the water-ſide, and ſold to a trader, who afterwards ſold her to the ſhip.

In the ſame voyage an elderly man brought on board ſaid (through the interpreter) that he and his ſon were ſeized as they were planting yams, by profeſſed kidnappers, by which he means perſons who *make kidnapping their conſtant practice.*

On his laſt voyage, which was alſo to Bonny, a canoe came along-ſide his veſſel, belonging to a noted trader in ſlaves, from which a fine ſtout fellow was handed on board, and ſold. Mr.

Falconbridge ſeeing the man amazed and confounded when he diſcovered himſelf to be a ſlave, inquired of him, by means of an interpreter, why he was ſold. He replied that he had had occaſion to come to Bonny to this trader's houſe, who aſked if he had ever ſeen a ſhip. Replying no, the trader ſaid, he would treat him with the ſight of one. The man conſenting, ſaid he was thereupon brought on board, and thus treacherouſly ſold. All the ſlaves Mr. Falconbridge ever talked to by means of interpreters, ſaid they had been ſtolen.

Mr. Douglas, when aſhore at Bonny Point, ſaw a young woman come out of the wood to the water ſide to bathe. Soon afterwards two men came from the wood, ſeized, bound, and beat her for making reſiſtance, and bringing her to him, Mr. Douglas, deſired him to put her on board, which he did; the captain's orders were, when any body brought down ſlaves, inſtantly to put them off to the ſhip.

When a ſhip arrives at Bonny, the king ſends his war canoes up the rivers, where they ſurpriſe all they can lay hold of. They had a young man on board, who was thus captured, with his father, mother, and three ſiſters. The young man afterwards in Jamaica having learnt Engliſh told Mr. Douglas the ſtory, and ſaid it was a common practice. Theſe war canoes are *always armed.* The king's canoes came with ſlaves openly in the day; others in the evening, with one or two ſlaves bound lying in the boats bottom, covered with matts.

Mr. Morely ſtates, that in Old Calabar perſons are ſold as ſlaves for adultery and theft. *On pretence of adultery*, he remembers a woman ſold.

He has been told alſo by the natives at Calabar, that they took ſlaves *in what they call war*, which he found was *putting the villages in confuſion, and catching them as they could.* A man on board the ſhip he was in ſhewed how he was taken at night by ſurpriſe, and ſaid his wife and children were taken with him, but they were not in the ſame ſhip. Mr. Morely had reaſon to think, from the man's words, that they took nearly the whole village, that is, all thoſe that could not get away.

Captain Hall ſays, when a ſhip arrives at Old Calabar, or the River Del Rey, the traders always go up into the country for ſlaves. They go in their war canoes, and take with them ſome goods, which they get previouſly from the ſhips.

He has ſeen from three to ten canoes in a fleet, each with from forty to ſixty paddlers, and twenty to thirty traders and other people with muſkets, ſuppoſe one to each man, with a three or four pounder laſhed on the bow of the canoe. They

are generally abſent from ten days to three weeks, when they return with a number of ſlaves pinioned, or chained together.

Captain Hall has often aſked the mode of procuring ſlaves inland, and has been told by the traders, that they have been got in war, and ſold by the perſons taking them.

Mr. J. Parker ſays, he left the ſhip to which be belonged at Old Calabar, where being kindly received by the king's ſon, he ſtaid with him on the continent for five months. During this time he was prevailed upon by the king's ſon, to accompany him to *war*.* Accordingly, having fitted out and armed the canoes, they went up the river Calabar. In the day time they lay under the buſhes when they approached a village, but at night flew up to it, and took hold of every one they could ſee; theſe they handcuffed, brought down to the canoes, and ſo proceeded up the river till they got to the amount of forty-five, with whom they returned to New-town, where ſending to the the captains of the ſhipping, they divided them among the ſhips.

About a fortnight after this expedition, they went again, and were out eight or nine days, plundering other villages higher up the river. They ſeized on much the ſame number as before, brought them to New-town, gave the ſame notice, and diſpoſed of them as before among the ſhips.

They took man, woman and child, as they could catch them in the houſes, and except the ſucking children, who went with their mothers, there was no care taken to prevent the ſeparation of the children from the parents when ſold. When ſold to the Engliſh merchants they lamented, and cried that they were taken away by force.

The king at Old Calabar was certainly not at war with the people up this river, nor had they made any attack upon him. It happened that ſlaves were very ſlack in the back country at that time, and *were wanted* when he went on theſe expeditions.

Mr. Falconbridge thinks crimes are falſely imputed, *for the ſake of ſelling the accuſed*. On the ſecond voyage at the river Ambris, among the ſlaves brought on board was one who had the craw craw, a kind of itch. He was told by one of the

* The reader is earneſtly requeſted to take notice, that the word *war*, as adopted into the African language, means in general *robbery, or a marauding expedition for the purpoſe of getting ſlaves*. Two noted black traders are found themſelves to have explained the term to two of the Evidences (Trotter, p. 21. Falconbridge, p. 23.) and it appears decidedly by the accounts of Wadſtrom, Town, Bowman, Storey, Morely, and J. Parker, that the catching of men is denominated by the Africans to be *war*.

ſailors, that this man was fiſhing in the river, when a king's officer, called Mambooka, *wanted brandy and other goods in the boat, but having no ſlave to buy them with, accuſed this man of extortion in the ſale of his fiſh*, and after ſome kind of trial on the beach, condemned him to be ſold. He was told this by the boat's crew who were aſhore when it happened, who told it as of their own knowledge.

Beſides the account juſt given, from what the above witneſſes ſaw and heard on the Coaſt of Africa, as to the different methods of making ſlaves, there are others contained in the evidence, which were learnt from the mouths of the ſlaves themſelves, after their arrival in the Weſt Indies.

Some of theſe have informed ſeveral of the witneſſes on this occaſion, that they were taken in war, (Hall and Woolrich) others, that they were taken by ſurpriſe in their towns, or while at work in their fields, (Hall) or as they were ſtraggling from their huts, or cultivating their lands, (Dalrymple) or tending their corn: (Woolrich) others, that they were taken by armed canoes up the rivers, (Douglas) others by ſtratagem, (Cook) or kidnapped, (Rev. Mr. Davies, Dean of Middleham, Mr. Fitzmaurice) which kidnapping prevailed in the inland parts at a great diſtance from the ſhore, (Dr. Harriſon) and was with ſome a profeſſed occupation, and a common practice (Falconbridge and Clappeſon.)

CHAP. II.

Europeans, by means of the Trade in Slaves, the occaſion of theſe Enormities.—Sometimes uſe additional Means to excite the Natives to practiſe them.—Often attempt themſelves to ſteal the Natives, and ſucceed.— Force Trade as they pleaſe, and are guilty of Injuſtice in their Dealings.

THE Moors (ſays Mr. Keirnan) have always a ſtrong inducement to go to war with the negroes, *moſt of the European goods they obtain, being got in exchange for ſlaves. Hence* deſolation and waſte.

Mr. Town obſerves, that the *intercourſe of the Africans with the Europeans*, has improved them in roguery, to plunder and ſteal, *and pick up one another to ſell.*

Dr. Trotter aſking a black trader, what they made of their ſlaves when the French and Engliſh were at war, was anſwered, *that when ſhips ceaſed to come, ſlaves ceaſed* to be taken.

Mr. Iſaac Parker ſays, that the king of Old Calabar was certainly not at war with the people up that river, nor had they made any attack on him. It happened that ſlaves were *very ſlack* in the back country at this time, *and were wanted* when he went on the *expeditions*, deſcribed in a former page (p. 25)

Mr. Wadſtrom ſays, that king Barbeſin, while he, Mr. Wadſtrom, was at Joal, was *unwilling* to pillage his ſubjects, but he *was excited to it* by means of a conſtant intoxication, kept up by the French and Mulatoes of the embaſſy, who generally agreed every morning on taking this method to effect their purpoſe. When ſober, he always expreſſed a reluctance to haraſs his people. Mr. Wadſtrom alſo heard the king hold the ſame language on different days, and yet he afterwards ordered the pillage to be executed. Mr. Wadſtrom has no doubt but that he alſo pillages in other parts of his dominions, ſince it is *the cuſtom* of the mulatto merchants (as both they and the French officers declare) when they want ſlaves, to go to the kings, and *excite them to pillages*, which are uſually practiſed on all that part of the coaſt.

The French Senegal company alſo, in order to obtain their compliment of ſlaves, had recourſe to their uſual method on ſimilar occaſions, namely, *of bribing the Moors, and ſupplying them with arms and ammunition, to ſeize* king Dalmammy's ſubjects. By January 12th, 1788, when Mr. Wadſtrom arrived at Senegal, fifty had been taken, whom the king deſired to ranſom, but they had been all diſpatched to Cayenne. Some were brought in every day afterwards, and put in the company's ſlave hold, in a miſerable ſtate, the greater part being badly wounded by ſabres and muſket balls. The director of the company conducted Mr. Wadſtrom there, with Dr. Spaarman, whom he conſulted as a medical man in their behalf. Mr. Wadſtrom particularly remembers one lying in his blood, which flowed from a wound made by a ball in his ſhoulder.

Mr. Dalrymple underſtood it *common for European* traders to advance goods to Chiefs, *to induce them to ſeize* their ſubjects or neighbours. Not one of the Mulatto traders at Goree ever thought of denying it.

Mr. Bowman having ſettled at the head of Scaſſus river, informed the king, and others, that he was come to reſide as a trader, and *that his orders were to ſupply them with powder and ball, and to encourage them to go to war.* They anſwered,

they would go to war in two or three days. By this time they came to the factory, ſaid they were going to war, and wanted powder, ball, rum, and tobacco. When theſe were given them, they went off to the number of from twenty-five to thirty, and in ſix or ſeven days a part of them returned with three ſlaves.

In 1769, (ſays Lieut. Storey) Captain Paterſon, of a Liverpool ſhip, lying off Briſtol town, *ſet two villages at variance*, and bought priſoners, near a dozen, from both ſides.

Mr. Morely owns, with ſhame, that he has *made the natives drunk*, in order to buy a good man or woman ſlave, to whom he found them attached. He has ſeen this done by others. Captain Hildebrand, commanding a ſloop of Mr. Brue's bought one of the wives of a man, *whom he had previouſly made drunk*, and who wiſhed to redeem her, when ſober next day, as did the perſon he (Mr. Morely) bought the man of, but neither of them was given up. He ſuppoſes they would have given a third more than the price paid, to have redeemed them.

Sir George Young ſays, that when at Annamaboe, at Mr. Brue's, (a very great merchant there) Mr. Brue had two hoſtages, kings ſons, for payment for arms, and all kinds of military ſtores, *which he had ſupplied to the two kings*, who were at war with each other, *to procure ſlaves for at leaſt ſix or ſeven ſhips, then lying in the road.* The priſoners on both ſides were brought down to Mr. Brue, and ſent to the ſhips.

Mr. J. Parker has known preſents made by the Captains, to the black traders, to *induce them* to bring ſlaves. Captain Colley in particular gave them ſome pieces of cannon, which he himſelf ſaw landed.

On the ſubject of Europeans attempting to carry off the natives, General Rooke ſays, that it was propoſed to him by three captains of Engliſh ſlave ſhips, lying under the fort of Goree, to kidnap a hundred or a hundred and fifty, men, women and children, king Damel's ſubjects, who had come to Goree in conſequence of the friendly intercourſe between him and Damel. He refuſed, and was much ſhocked by the propoſition. They ſaid ſuch things had been done by a former Governor, but the chief Maraboo at Ruſiſk did not recollect any ſuch event.

Mr. Wadſtrom was informed at Goree, by Captain Wignie, from Rochelle, who was juſt arrived from the river Gambia, that a little before his departure from that river, three Engliſh veſſels were cut off by the natives, owing to the captain of one of them, who had his cargo, being tempted by a fair

wind, to ſail away with ſeveral of the free negroes, then drinking with the crew. Soon afterwards the wind changed, and he was driven back, ſeized, and killed, with all his crew, and thoſe of the two other veſſels. Mr. Wadſtrom has, by accident, met with the inſurer of two of theſe veſſels in London, who * confirmed the above facts.

Captain Hills ſays, a man at Gambia, who called himſelf a prince's brother, had been carried off to the Weſt Indies, by an Engliſh ſhip, but making his caſe known to the governor, was ſent by him to Europe. Captain Hills was adviſed not to go on ſhore at Gambia, by the merchants there, for fear of being taken by the natives, who owed the Engliſh a grudge for ſome injuries received.

Mr. John Bowman ſays, that when a mate under Captain Strangeways, the ſhip then lying in the river S. Leon, at White Man's Bay, ready to ſail, he was ſent on ſhore to invite two traders on board. They came and were ſhewn into the cabin. Mean time, people were employed in ſetting the ſails, it being almoſt night, and the land breeze making down the river. When they had weighed anchor, and got out to ſea, Mr. Bowman was called down by the captain, who, pointing to the ſail-caſe, deſired him to look into it and ſee what a fine prize he had got. To his ſurpriſe, he ſaw lying faſt aſleep, the two men who had come on board with him, the captain having made them drunk, and concealed them there. When they awoke they were ſent upon deck, ironed, and put forward among the other ſlaves. On arriving at Antigua they were ſold.

The Rev. Mr. Newton has known ſhips and boats cut off at Sherbro, uſually in retaliation.

Once when he was on ſhore, the traders ſuddenly put him into his long-boat, telling him that a ſhip juſt paſſed had carried off two people. Had it been known in the town, he would have been detained. He has known many other ſuch inſtances, but after thirty-ſix years he cannot ſpecify them. It was a general opinion, founded on repeated and indiſputable facts, that depredations of this ſort were *frequently* committed by the *Europeans*.

Mr. Newton has ſometimes found all trade ſtopped, and the depredations of European traders have been aſſigned by the

* The editor ſaw, in the month of April, 1791, in St. Thomas's hoſpital, a young lad, the only one of the three crews that was ſuffered to eſcape upon this occaſion. After having been for months in confinement up the country, he was brought off by accident, by an Engliſh ſhip.

natives *as the cauſe*, and he has more than once or twice made up breaches of this kind between the ſhips and the natives.

He believes ſeveral captains of ſlave ſhips were honeſt humane men; but he has good reaſon to think, they were not all ſo. The taking off ſlaves by force has been thought moſt frequent in the laſt voyages of captains. He has often heard maſters and officers expreſs this opinion. Depredations and repriſals made to get them *were ſo frequent that the Europeans and Africans were in a ſpirit of mutual diſtruſt:* he does not mean that there were no depredations except in their laſt voyages. He has known Liverpool and Briſtol ſhips materially injured from the conduct of ſome ſhips, from the ſame ports, that had left the coaſt. It is a fact that ſome captains have committed depredations in their laſt voyages who have not been known to have done it before.

Mr. Town was once preſent with part of the crew of his ſhip the Sally, at an expedition undertaken by the whites for ſeizing negroes, and joined by other boats to receive thoſe they could catch. To prevent all alarm, they bound the mouths of the captives, with oakum and handkerchiefs. One woman ſhrieked and the natives turned out in defence. He had then five of them tied in the boat, and the other boats were in readineſs to take in what more they could get. All his party were armed, and the men of the town purſued them with firſt a ſcattering, and at length a general fire, and ſeveral of the men belonging to the boats, he has reaſon to believe were killed, wounded, or taken, as he never heard of them afterwards. He was wounded himſelf. The ſlaves he had taken were ſold at Charleſtown, South Carolina. The natives had not previouſly committed any hoſtilities againſt any of the ſhips, whoſe boats were concerned in this tranſaction. They owed goods to the captain, for which he reſolved to obtain ſlaves at any rate. He has had ſeveral ſhip-mates, who have themſelves told him, they have been concerned in ſimilar tranſactions, and have made a boaſt of it, and who have been wounded alſo.

Mr. Falconbridge was informed by Captain Gould of the Alert, that he had carried off a man from Little Cape Mount.

Mr. Storey believes the natives of the Windward Coaſt are often fradulently carried off by the Europeans. He has been told by them, that they had loſt their friends at different times, and ſuppoſed them taken by European ſhips going along the coaſt. He has himſelf taken up canoes at ſea, which were

challenged by the natives, who ſuppoſed the men in them had been taken off the day before by a Dutchman.

When once at an anchor, in his boat, between the river Seſtus and Settra Crue, he prevented the crew of a long-boat, belonging to a Dutchman then lying off ſhore, from being cut off by the natives, who gave as a reaſon for their intentions, that a ſhip of that country ſome days before *had taken off four men* belonging to the place.

Afterwards, in 1768, being in a boat, with two other white perſons, the natives attacked them. Both the former were killed, and he himſelf, covered with blood and wounds, was only ſuffered to eſcape, by conſenting to give up boat and cargo, and to go to Gaboon. The reaſon the natives gave for this procedure was, that a ſhip from Liverpool (one Captain Lambert) had, ſome time before, *taken a canoe full of their townſmen, and carried her away.* He heard the ſame thing confirmed afterwards at Gaboon.

Mr. Douglas ſtates, that near Cape Coaſt the natives make ſmoke as a ſignal for trade. On board his ſhip (the Warwick Caſtle) they ſaw the ſmoke and ſtood in ſhore, which brought off many canoes. Pipes, tobacco, and brandy, were got on deck, *to entice the people in them on board.* The gratings were unlaid, the ſlave-room cleared, and every preparation made to ſeize them; two only could be prevailed on to come up the ſhip's ſide, who ſtood in the main chains, but on the ſeamen approaching them they jumped off, and the canoes all made for ſhore.

The Gregſon's people, while at Bonny, informed Mr. Douglas, that in running down the coaſt, they had kidnapped thirty-two of the natives. He ſaw ſlaves on board that ſhip when ſhe came in, and it *is not cuſtomary* for ſhips bound to Bonny, to ſtop and trade by the way.

Mr. How ſays, that abreaſt of Cape La Hou, ſeveral canoes came along-ſide of his Majeſty's ſhip Grampus, and on coming on board informed the captain, that an Engliſh Guinea-trader a fortnight before had taken off ſix canoes with men who had gone off to them with proviſions for trade. On coming to Appolonia he was alſo told by Mr. Buchanan, the reſident there, that a Guinea-man belonging to one Griffith, an Engliſhman, and a notorious trader and kidnapper, between Cape La Hou and Appolonia, was then in that latitude.

Captain Hall was told by Capt. Jeremiah Smith, that in 1771, a Captain Fox had taken off ſome people from the Windward Coaſt.

He ſays alſo, that the boat's crew of the Venus, Captain Smith, which had been ſent to Fernandipo for yams from Calabar, enticed a canoe to come along-ſide that had about ten men in her. As ſoon as ſhe got near, the boat's crew fired into her, on which they jumped overboard: ſome were wounded, and one was taken out of the water, and died in leſs than an hour in the boat: two others were taken up unhurt, and carried to Old Calabar to the ſhip. Captain Smith was angry at the officer for this procedure, and ſent back the two men to the bay, from whence they had been taken. Immediately after the boat had committed this depredation, Captain Hall happened to go into the ſame bay in his own ſhip's long-boat, and ſending on ſhore two men to fill water, they were ſurrounded by the natives, who drove three ſpears into one of the men, and wounded the other with a large ſtick, in conſequence of taking away the two men juſt mentioned. It was ſaid that the crew had diſputed with the natives on ſhore when trading with them for yams, but the former had not done any of the boat's crew any injury.

Mr. Elliſon knew two ſlaves taken from the iſland of Fernandipo by the Dobſon's boat of Liverpool, and carried to Old Calabar, where the ſhip lay. He went to the ſame iſland for yams, a few days after the tranſaction, and fired, as the uſual ſignal, for the natives to bring them. Seeing ſome of them peep through the buſhes, he wondered why they would not come to the boat. He accordingly ſwam on ſhore, when ſome of the iſlanders came round him: an old man ſhewed, by ſigns, that a ſhip's boat had ſtolen a man and woman. He was then ſoon ſurrounded by numbers, who preſented darts to him, ſignifying they would kill him, if the man and woman were not brought back. Upon this, the people in the boat fired ſome ſhot, when they all ran into the woods. Mr. Elliſon went to Calabar, and told Captain Briggs he could get no yams, in conſequence of the two people being ſtolen; upon which Captain Briggs told the captain of the Dobſon, there would be no more trade if he did not deliver up the people, which he at length did. As ſoon as the natives ſaw their countrymen they loaded the boat with yams, goats, fowls, honey, and palm-wine: and they would take nothing for them. They had the man and woman delivered to them, whom they carried away in their arms. The Dobſon did not ſtay above eight, ten, or twelve days. This was the *laſt trip* her boat was to make, when they carried off the two ſlaves.

Mr. Morley ſays, that when off Taboo, two men came in a canoe, along-ſide his veſſel. One of them came up, and ſat

on the netting, but would not come into the ſhip. The captain at length, enticing him, intoxicated him ſo with brandy and laudanum, that he fell in upon deck. The captain then ordered him to be put into the men's room, with a ſentry over him. The other man in the canoe, after calling in vain for his companion, paddled off faſt towards the ſhore. The captain fired ſeveral muſket balls after him, which did not hit him. About three or four leagues farther down, two men came on board from another canoe. While they were on board, a drum was kept beating near the man who had been ſeized, to prevent his hearing them, or they him.

He ſays again, in ſpeaking of another part of the coaſt, that Captain Briggs's chief mate, in Old Calabar River, lying in ambuſh to ſtop the natives coming down the creek, purſued Oruk Robin John, who, jumping on ſhore, ſhot the mate through the head.

He ſays alſo, of another part of the coaſt, that a Mr. Walker, maſter of a ſloop, was on board the Jolly Prince, Captain Lambert, when the king of Nazareth ſtabbed the captain at his own table, and took the veſſel, putting all the whites to death, except the cook, a boy, and, he believes, one man. Captain Walker, being aſked why the king of Nazareth took this ſtep, ſaid, it was on account of the people, whom Matthews had carried off from Gaboon and Cape Lopez the voyage before. Walker eſcaped, by knowing the language of the country.

Mr. Morley ſailed afterwards with the ſame Captain Matthews to Gaboon River, where the Chief's ſons came on board him to demand what he had done with their ſons, and the boys he had carried off, (the ſame as Walker alluded to) and told him, that if he dared to come on ſhore, they would have his head.

As a farther corroboration that ſuch practices as the above take place, it appears in evidence, that the natives of the coaſt and iſlands are found conſtantly hovering in their canoes, at a diſtance, about ſuch veſſels as are paſſing by, ſhy of coming on board, for fear of being taken off, (Hall, Falconbridge, Claxton, Bowman, &c.) But if they can diſcover that ſuch veſſels *are not in the ſlave trade*, but *are men of war*, they come on board *readily*, (Sir George Young) or *without any heſitation*, which they would *not otherwiſe* have done, (Mr. Howe) and *in numbers*, (Lieutenant Simpſon) and traverſe the ſhips *with as much confidence as if they had been on ſhore*, (Captain Wilſon.)

Mr. Elliſon ſays, when he was lying at Yanamaroo, in the Gambia, ſlaves were brought down. The traders raiſed the price. The captains would not give it, but thought to compel them by firing upon the town. They fired red hot ſhot from the ſhip, and ſet ſeveral houſes on fire. All the ſhips, ſeven or eight fired.

Mr. Falconbridge heard Captain Vicars, of a Briſtol ſhip, ſay at Bonny, when his traders were ſlack, he fired a gun into or over the town, to freſhen their way. Captain Vicars told this to him and other people there at the time, but he has ſeen no inſtance of it himſelf.

Mr. Iſaac Parker ſays, the Guinea captains lying in Old Calabar River, fixed on a certain price, and agreed to lie under a £. 50 bond, if any one of them ſhould give more for ſlaves than another; in conſequence of which the natives did not readily bring ſlaves on board to ſell at thoſe prices; upon which, the captains uſed to row guard at night, to take the canoes as they paſſed the ſhips, and ſo ſtopping the ſlaves from getting to their towns, prevent the traders from getting them. Theſe they took on board the different ſhips, and kept them *till the traders agreed to ſlave at the old prices.*

Lieutenant Storey ſays, that Captain Jeremiah Smith, in the London, in 1766, having a diſpute with the natives of New Town Old Calabar, concerning the ſtated price which he was to give for ſlaves, for ſeveral days ſtopped every canoe coming down the Creek from New Town, and alſo fired ſeveral guns indiſcriminately over the woods into the town, *till he brought them to his own terms.*

Captain Hall ſays, in Old Calabar River there are two towns, Old Town and New Town. A rivalſhip in trade produced a jealouſy between the towns; ſo that through fear of each other, for a conſiderable time, *no canoe would leave their towns to go up the river for ſlaves.* This happened in 1767. In this year ſeven ſhips, of which five were the following: Duke of York, Bevan; Edgar, Lace; Indian Queen, Lewis; Nancy, Maxwell; and Canterbury, Sparkes; lay off the Point which ſeparates the towns. Six of the captains invited the people of both towns on board on a certain day, as if to reconcile them: at the ſame time they agreed with the people of New Town to cut off all the Old Town people who ſhould remain on board the next morning. The Old Town people perſuaded of the ſincerity of the captains' propoſal, went on board in great numbers. Next morning, at eight o'clock, one of the ſhips fired a gun, as a ſignal to commence hoſtilities. Some of the traders were ſecured on board, ſome were killed in reſiſting,

and ſome got overboard, and were fired upon. When the firing began, the New Town people, who were in ambuſh behind the Point, came forward, and picked up the people of Old Town, who were ſwimming, and had eſcaped the firing. After the firing was over, the captains of five of the ſhips delivered their priſoners (perſons of conſequence) to the New Town canoes, two of whom were beheaded along-ſide the ſhips. The inferior priſoners were carried to the Weſt Indies. One of the captains, who had ſecured three of the king's brothers, delivered one of them to the chief man of New Town, who was one of the two beheaded along-ſide; the other brothers, he kept on board, promiſing, *when the ſhip was ſlaved*, to deliver them to the chief man of New Town. His ſhip was ſoon ſlaved on account of his promiſe, and the number of priſoners made that day; but he refuſed to deliver the king's two brothers, according to his promiſe, and carried them to the Weſt Indies, and ſold them. It happened, in proceſs of time, that they eſcaped to Virginia, and from thence, after three years, to Briſtol, where the captain who brought them, fearing he had done wrong, meditated carrying, or ſending them back, but Mr. Jones of Briſtol who had ſhips trading to Old Calabar, and hearing who they were, had them taken from the ſhip, (where they were in irons) by Habeas Corpus. After inquiry how they were brought from Africa, they were liberated, and put in one of Mr. Jones's ſhips for Old Calabar, where Captain Hall was, when they arrived in the ſhip Cato, Langdon.

So ſatisfied were the people of Old Town, in 1767, of the ſincerity of the captains who invited them, and of the New Town people, towards a reconciliation, that the night before the maſſacre, the chief man of Old Town gave to the chief man of New Town, one of his favourite women as a wife. It was ſaid that from *three to four hundred* perſons were killed that day, in the ſhips, in the water, or carried off the coaſt.

The king eſcaped from the ſhip he was in, by killing two of the crew, who attempted to ſeize him. He then got into a one-man canoe, and paddled to the ſhore. A ſix pounder from one of the ſhips ſtruck the canoe to pieces; he then ſwam on ſhore to the woods near the ſhips, and reached his own town, though cloſely purſued. It was ſaid he received eleven wounds from muſket ſhot.

Captain Hall, in his firſt voyage on board the Neptune, had this account from the boatſwain, Thomas Rutter, who, in 1767, had been boatſwain to the Canterbury, Captain Sparkes, of London, and concerned in the ſaid maſſacre. Rutter told him the ſtory exactly as related, and never varied in

it. He had it alſo from the king's two brothers, who agreed exactly with Rutter.

Captain Hall alſo ſaw at Calabar, in the poſſeſſion of the king's two brothers, their depoſitions taken at Briſtol, and of Mr. Floyd, who was mate of one of the ſhips when the tranſaction happened, but he took no copy.

Mr. Millar ſays, that a quarrel happened between the people of Old and New Town, which prevented the ſhips lying in Calabar river from being ſlaved. He believes in June 1767, Captain S. Sparkes, (captain of his ſhip, the Canterbury) came one evening to him, and told him that the two towns, ſo quarrelling, would meet on board the different ſhips, and ordered him to hand up ſome ſwords.

The next day ſeveral canoes, as Sparkes had before adverti ſed him, came from both of the towns, on board the Canterbury, Mr. Millar's own ſhip, and one of the perſons ſo coming on board, brought a letter, which he gave Sparkes, immediately on the receipt of which, he, Sparkes, took a hanger, and attacked one of the Old Town people then on board, cutting him immediately on the arms, head, and body. The man fled, ran down the ſteps leading to the cabin, and Sparkes ſtill following him with the hanger, darted into the boys room. Mr. Millar is ſure this circumſtance can never be effaced from his memory. From this room he was however brought up by means of a rope, when Sparkes renewed his attack as before, on him, who, making for the entering port, leaped overboard.

This being concluded, Sparkes left his own ſhip to go on board ſome of the other ſhips, then lying in the river. Soon after he was gone, a boy belonging to Mr. Millar's ſhip came and informed him, Mr. Millar, that he had diſcovered a man concealed behind the medicine cheſt. Mr. Millar went and found the man. He was the perſon before mentioned to have brought a letter on board. On being diſcovered by Mr. Millar, he begged for mercy, entreating that he might not be delivered up to the people of New Town. He was brought on the quarter-deck, where were ſome of the New Town people, who would have killed him, had they not been prevented. The man was then ironed, and conducted into the room of the men ſlaves.

Soon after this tranſaction, the captain returned, and brought with him a New Town trader, named Willy Honeſty. On coming on board, he was informed of what had happened in his abſence, and Mr. Millar believes, in the hearing of Willy Honeſty, who immediately exclaimed, "Captain, if you will

" give me that man, to cut off his head, I will give you the " beſt man in my canoe, and you *ſhall be ſlaved the firſt ſhip.*" The captain upon this looked into Willy Honeſty's canoe, picked his man, and delivered the other in his ſtead, when his head was immediately ſtruck off in Mr. Millar's ſight.

Mr. Millar believes, that ſome other cruelties, beſides this particular act, were done, becauſe he ſaw blood on the ſtarboard ſide of the mizen-maſt, though he does not recollect ſeeing any bodies from whence the blood might come; and others in other ſhips, becauſe he heard ſeveral muſkets or piſtols fired from them at the ſame time. This affair might laſt ten minutes. He remembers a four-pounder fired at a canoe, but knows not if any damage was done.

As to the other act of injuſtice on the part of the Europeans, ſome conſider frauds, (ſays Mr. Newton) as a *neceſſary branch* of the ſlave trade. They put falſe heads into powder caſks; cut off two or three yards from the middle of a piece of cloth; adulterate their ſpirits, and ſteal back articles given. Beſides theſe, there are others who pay in bottles, which contain but half the contents of the ſamples ſhewn (Wadſtrom), uſe falſe ſteelyards and weights (Bowman), and ſell ſuch guns as burſt on firing, ſo that many of the natives of the Windward Coaſt, are without their fingers and thumbs on this account (Lieut. Storey), and it is become a ſaying, " That " theſe guns kill more out of the butt than the muzzle," (Falconbridge.)

Mr. Dalrymple, while at Goree, remembers a ſhip attempting to ſail out of the bay with a number of ſlaves, without paying for them, but ſhe was ſtopped by the guns of the fort.

CHAP. III.

The enſlaved Africans come dejected on board—Cauſe of this dejection—Methods of confining, airing, feeding, and exerciſing them—Mode of ſtowing them, with its bad Conſequences—This Mode and its Conſequences confirmed by another Species of Proof—Incidents on the Paſſage—Manner of ſelling them when arrived at their deſtined Ports—Deplorable Situation of the Refuſe or Sickly Slaves—Separation of Relations and Friends—Mortality on the Paſſage, and frequently after Sale—Cauſes of this Mortality—Opinions of ſeveral of the Evidences on the Trade.

THE Natives of Africa having been made ſlaves in the manner deſcribed in the former chapters, are brought down for ſale to the European ſhips.

On being brought on board, ſays Dr. Trotter, they ſhew ſigns of *extreme diſtreſs and deſpair, from a feeling of their ſituation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections;* many retain thoſe impreſſions for a long time; in proof of which, the ſlaves on board his ſhip being often heard in the night, making an howling melancholy noiſe, expreſſive of extreme anguiſh, he repeatedly ordered the woman, who had been his interpreter, to inquire into the cauſe. She diſcovered it to be owing to their having dreamt they were in *their own country again*, and finding themſelves when awake, in *the hold of a ſlave ſhip*. This exquiſite ſenſibility was particularly obſervable among the women, many of whom, on ſuch occaſions, he found in hyſteric fits.

The foregoing deſcription, as far as relates to their dejection when brought on board, and the cauſe of it is confirmed by Hall, Wilſon, Claxton, Elliſon, Town, and Falconbridge, the latter of whom relates an inſtance of a young woman who cried and pined away after being brought on board, who recovered when put on ſhore, and who hung herſelf when informed ſhe was to be ſent again to the ſhip.

Captain Hall ſays, after the firſt eight or ten of them come on board, the men were put into irons. They are linked two and two together by the hands and feet, in which ſituation they continue till they arrive in the Weſt Indies, ex-

cept ſuch as may be ſick, whoſe irons are then taken off. The women however, he ſays, are always looſe.

On being brought up in a morning, ſays Surgeon Wilſon, an additional mode of ſecuring them takes place, for to the ſhackles of each pair of them there is a ring, through which is reeved a large chain, which locks them all in a body to ring-bolts faſtened to the deck.

The time of their coming up in the morning, if fair, is deſcribed by Mr. Town to be between eight and nine, and the time of their remaining there to be till four in the afternoon, when they are again put below till the next morning. In the interval of being upon deck they are fed twice. They have alſo a pint of water allowed to each of them a day, which being divided is ſerved out to them at two different times, namely after their meals.

Theſe meals, ſays Mr. Falconbridge, conſiſts of rice, yams, and horſe-beans, with now and then a little beef and bread. After meals they are made *to jump in their irons*. This is called *dancing* by the ſlave dealers. *In every ſhip* he has been deſired *to flog ſuch as would not jump*. He had generally a cat-of-nine-tails in his hand among the women, and the chief mate, he believes, another among the men.

The parts, ſays Mr. Claxton, (to continue the account) on which their ſhackles are faſtened, are often excoriated by the violent exerciſe they are thus forced to take, of which they made many grievous complaints to him. In his ſhip even thoſe who had the flux, ſcurvy, and ſuch œdematous ſwellings in their legs as made it painful to them to move at all, were compelled to dance by the cat.

He ſays alſo that on board his ſhip they ſometimes *ſung*, but not for their amuſement. The captain ordered them to ſing, and *they ſung ſongs of ſorrow*. The ſubject of their ſongs were their *wretched ſituation, and the idea of never returning home*. He recollects their very words upon theſe occaſions.

The above account of ſhackling, meſſing, *dancing, and ſinging the ſlaves, is allowed by all the evidences, as far as they ſpeak to the ſame points, except by Mr. Falconbridge, in whoſe ſhips the ſlaves had a pint and an half of water per day.

On the ſubject of the ſtowage and its conſequences, Dr. Trotter ſays, that the ſlaves in the paſſage are ſo crowded

* The neceſſity of exerciſe for health is the reaſon given for compelling the ſlaves to dance in the above manner.

below, that it is impoſſible to walk through them, *without treading* on them. Thoſe, who are out of irons, are *locked ſpoonways* (in the *technical phraſe*) to one another. It is the firſt mate's duty to ſee them ſtowed in this way every morning; thoſe who do not get quickly into their places, are compelled *by a cat-of-nine-tails.*

When the ſcuttles are obliged to be ſhut, the gratings are not ſufficient for airing the rooms. He never himſelf could breathe freely, unleſs immediately under the hatchway. He has ſeen the ſlaves drawing their breath with all thoſe laborious and anxious efforts for life, *which are obſerved in expiring animals, ſubjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhauſted receiver of an air pump.* He has alſo ſeen them when the tarpawlings have inadvertently been thrown over the gratings, attempting to heave them up; crying out in their own language, "*We are dying:*" on removing the tarpawlings and gratings, they would fly to the hatchway with all the ſigns of terror, and dread of ſuffocation. Many of them he has ſeen in a dying ſtate, but ſome have recovered by being brought hither, or on the deck; others were irrecoverably loſt, *by ſuffocation,* having had *no previous ſigns of indiſpoſition.*

Mr. Falconbridge alſo ſtates on this head, that when employed in ſtowing the ſlaves he made the moſt of the room, and *wedged them in.* They had not ſo much room *as a man in his coffin,* either in length or breadth. It was impoſſible for them to turn or ſhift with any degree of eaſe. He had often occaſion to go from one ſide of their rooms to the other, in which caſe he always *took off his ſhoes,* but could not avoid pinching them; he has the marks on his feet where they bit and ſcratched him. In every voyage when the ſhip was full they complained of heat and want of air. Confinement in this ſituation was ſo injurious, that he has known them *go down apparently in good health at night and found dead in the morning.* On his laſt voyage he opened a ſtout man who ſo died. He found the contents of the thorax and abdomen healthy, and therefore concludes *he died of ſuffocation in the night.*

He was never among them for ten minutes below together, but his ſhirt was as wet as if dipt in water.

One of his ſhips, the Alexander, coming out of Bonny, got aground on the bar, and was detained there ſix or ſeven days, with a great ſwell and heavy rain. At this time the air ports were obliged to be ſhut, and part of the gratings on the weather ſide covered: almoſt all the men ſlaves were ta-

ken ill with the flux. The laſt time he went down to ſee them it was ſo hot that he took off his ſhirt. *More than twenty of them had then fainted, or were fainting.* He got, however, ſeveral of them hawled on deck. Two or three of theſe died, and moſt of the reſt before they reached the Weſt Indies. He was down only about fifteen minutes, and became ſo ill by it, that he could not get up without help, and was diſabled (the dyſentery ſeizing him alſo) from doing duty the reſt of the paſſage. On board the ſame ſhip he has known two or three inſtances of *a dead and living ſlave found in the morning ſhackled together.*

The *crowded ſtate* of the ſlaves, and the *pulling off the ſhoes* by the ſurgeons as deſcribed above, that they might not hurt them in traverſing their rooms, are additionally mentioned by Surgeons Wilſon and Claxton. The ſlaves are ſaid alſo by Hall and Wilſon to *complain* on account *of heat.* Both Hall, Town, and Morely, deſcribe them as often in a *violent perſpiration*, or *dew ſweat.* Mr. Elliſon has ſeen them *faint through heat*, and obliged to be brought on deck, the ſteam coming up through the gratings like a furnace. In Wilſon's and Town's ſhips ſome have *gone below well in an evening*, and in the *morning have been found dead*, and Mr. Newton has often ſeen a dead and living man chained together, and to uſe his own words, *one of the pair dead.*

To prove that this ſtowage, and of courſe that the conſequences of it, muſt unavoidably be as deſcribed by the Gentlemen above, the following ſpecies of evidence and calculation may be reſorted to.

Captain Parrey of the Royal Navy was ſent by Government in the year 1788, to meaſure ſuch of the ſlave veſſels as were then lying at Liverpool, and to make a report of the ſame to the Houſe of Commons. In this Report are mentioned the names of the different veſſels, and their reſpective dimenſions as taken by him. The firſt of theſe, as delivered by himſelf, is the Brookes, and as ſome one ſhip muſt be taken to make out the proof intended, it will be leſs objectionable to take the firſt that comes than any other. The dimenſions then of the Brookes, as reported by Capt. Parrey, will be found as in the annexed Plans.

Dimensions of the Ship.

	Feet	Inches
Length of the *Lower Deck*, gratings and bulk-heads included at AA	100	0
Breadth of *Beam* on the *Lower Deck* inside, BB	25	4
Depth of *Hold*, OOO from cieling to cieling	10	0
Height between decks from deck to deck	5	8
Length of the *Mens Room*, CC on the lower deck	46	0
Breadth of the *Mens Room*, CC on the lower deck	25	4
Length of the *Platforms*, DD in the mens room	46	0
Breadth of the *Platforms* in the mens room on each side	6	0
Length of the *Boys Room*, EE	13	9
Breadth of the *Boys Room*	25	0
Breadth of *Platforms*, FF in boys room	6	0
Length of *Womens Room*, GG	28	6
Breadth of *Womens Room*	23	6
Length of *Platforms*, HH in womens room,	28	6
Breadth of *Platforms* in womens room,	6	0
Length of the *Gun Room*, II on the lower deck,	10	6
Breadth of the *Gun Room* on the lower deck	12	0
Length of the *Quarter Deck*, KK	33	6
Breadth of the *Quarter Deck*,	19	6
Length of the *Cabin*, LL	14	0
Height of the *Cabin*	6	2
Length of the *Half Deck*, MM	16	6
Height of the *Half Deck*	6	2
Length of the *Platforms*, NN on the half deck,	16	6
Breadth of the *Platforms* on the half deck	6	0

Upper deck, PP.

Let it now be supposed that the above are the real dimensions of the ship Brookes, and farther, that every man slave is to be allowed six feet by one foot four inches for room, every woman five feet ten by one foot four, every boy five feet by one foot two, and every girl four feet six by one foot, it will follow that the annexed Plan of a slave vessel will be precisely the representation of the ship Brookes, and of the exact number of persons neither more nor less, that could be stowed in the different rooms of it upon these data. These, if counted, (* deducting the women stowed in Z of Figures

* By the late Act of Parliament the space Z, which is half of the half-deck M Z, is appropriated to the seamen.

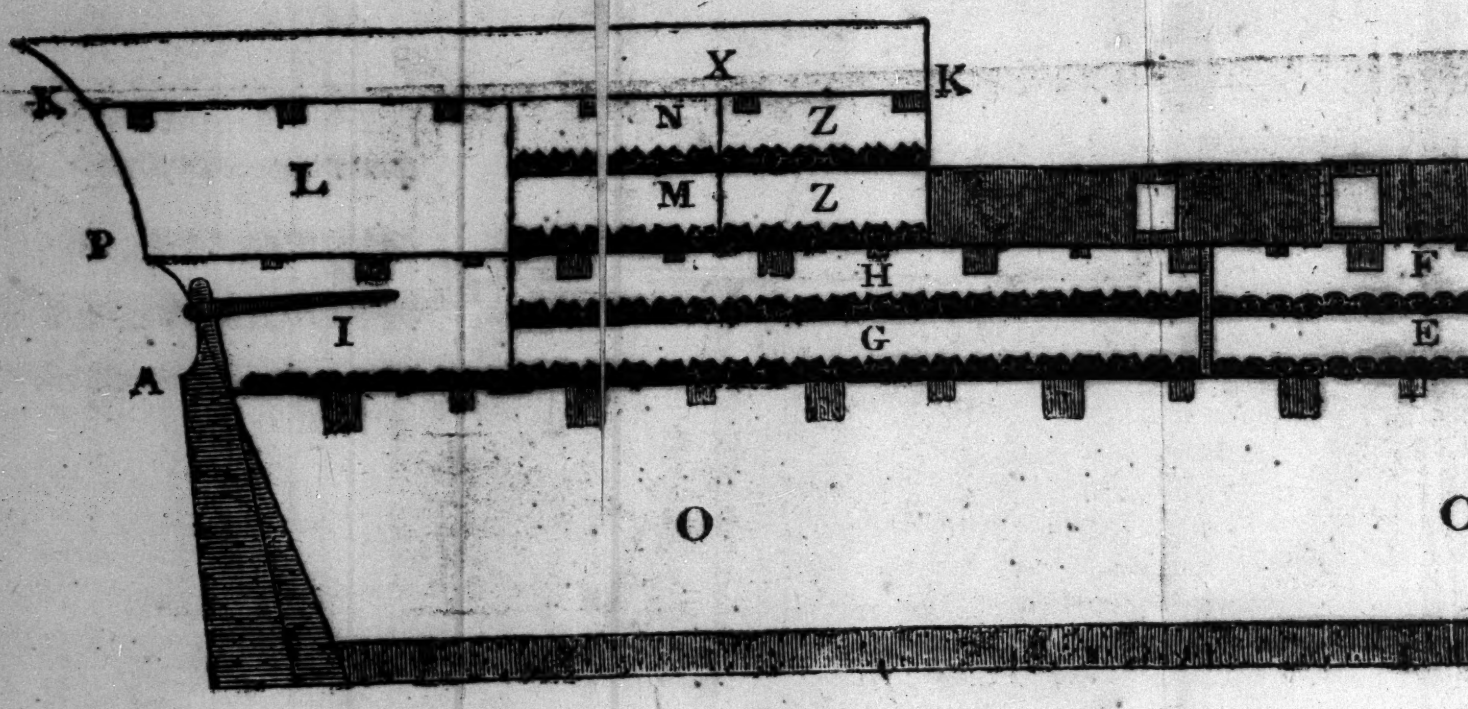


FIG. III.

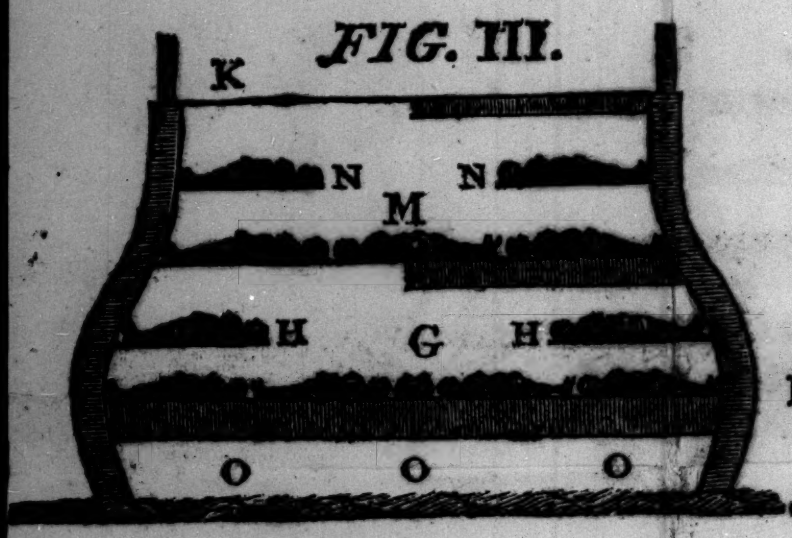


FIG. II.

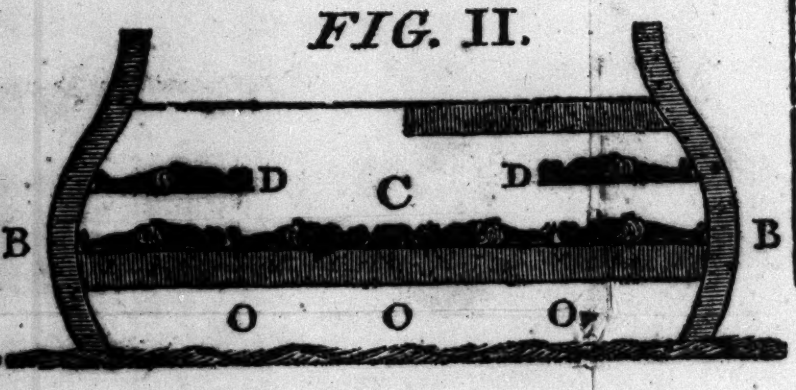


FIG. V.

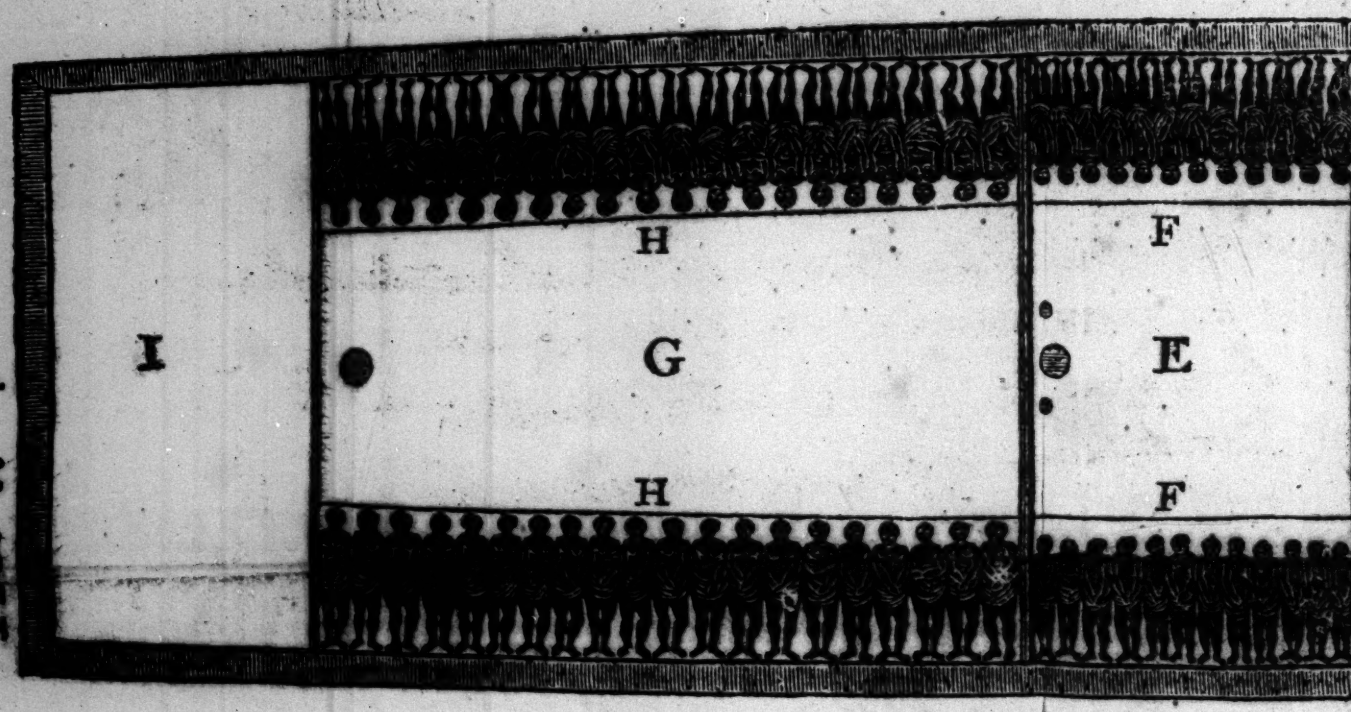


FIG. IV.

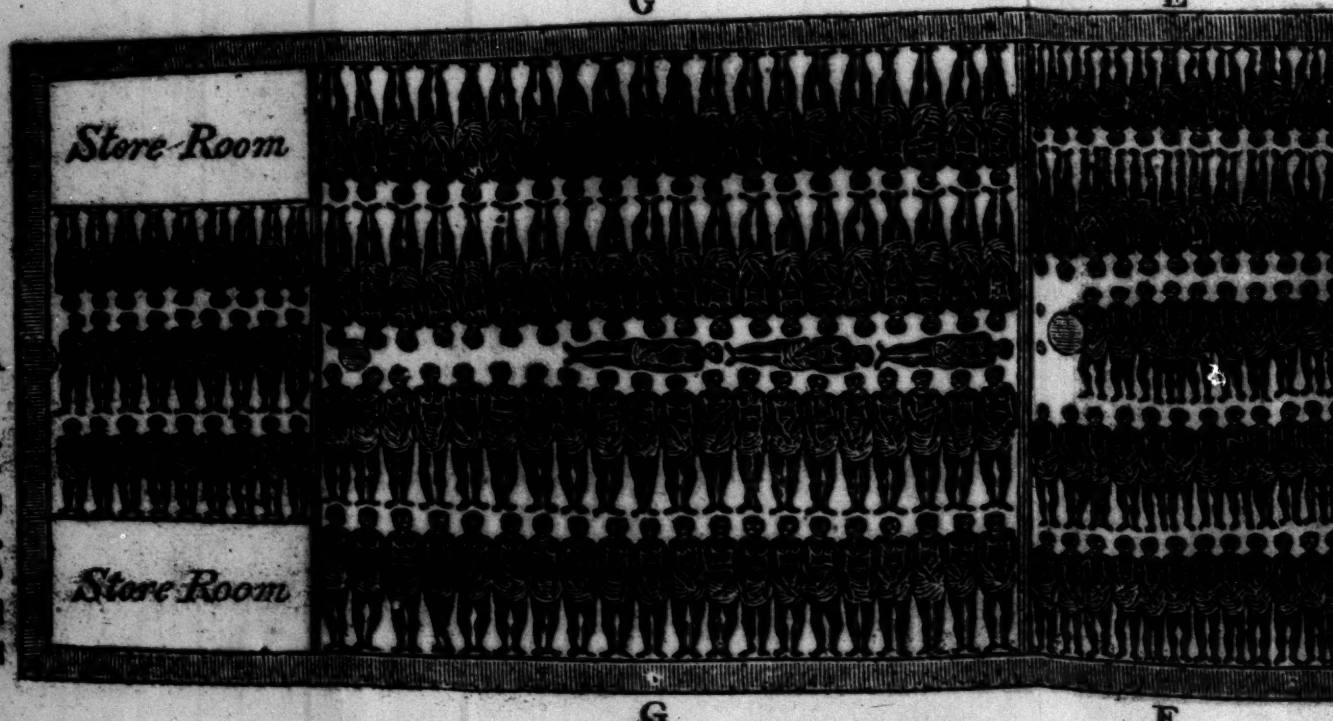
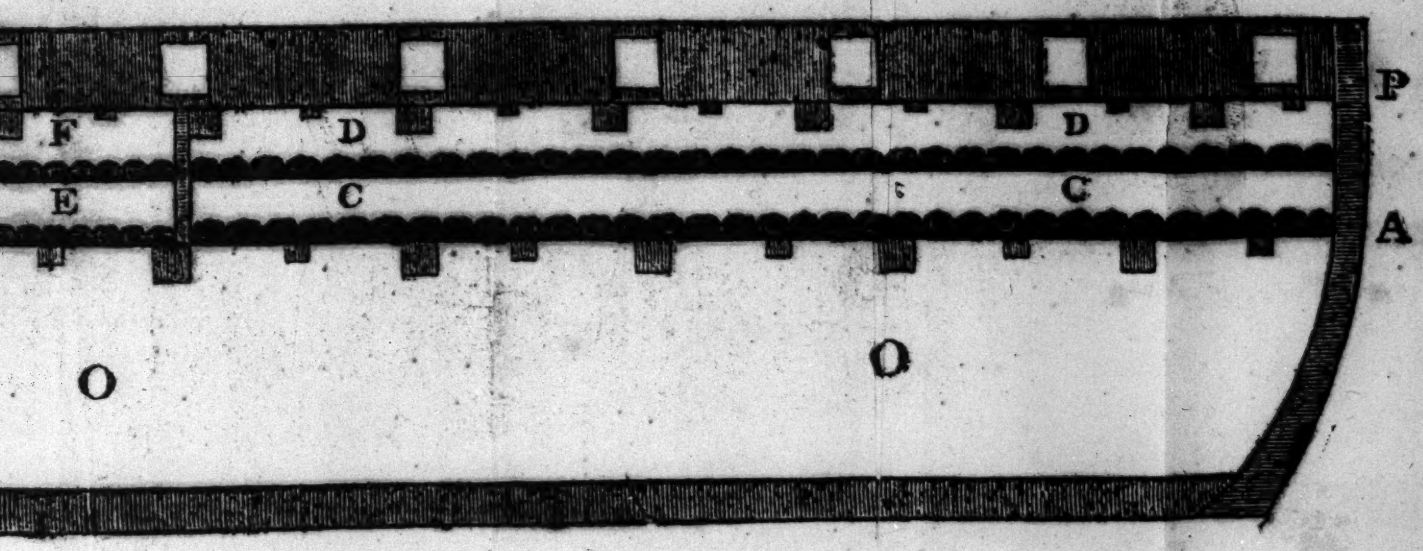


FIG. I.



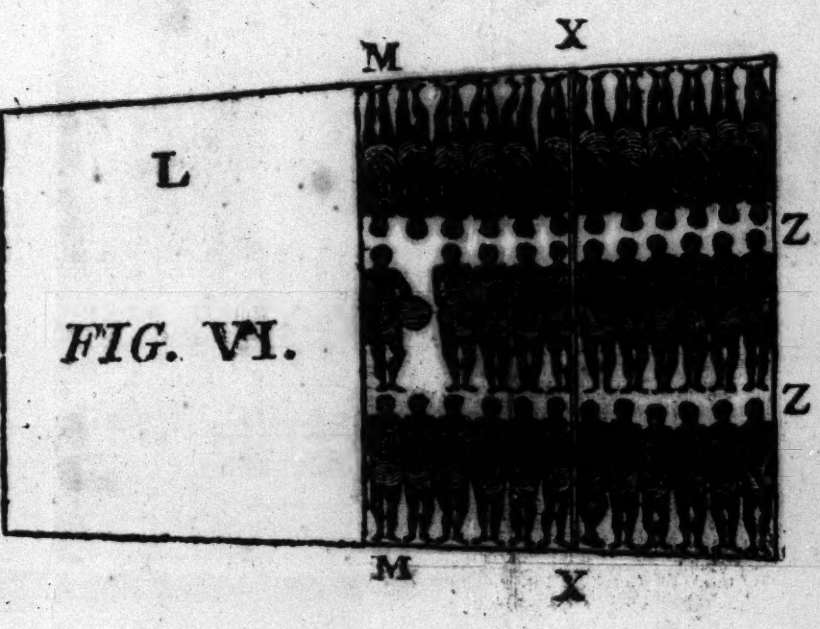


FIG. VI.

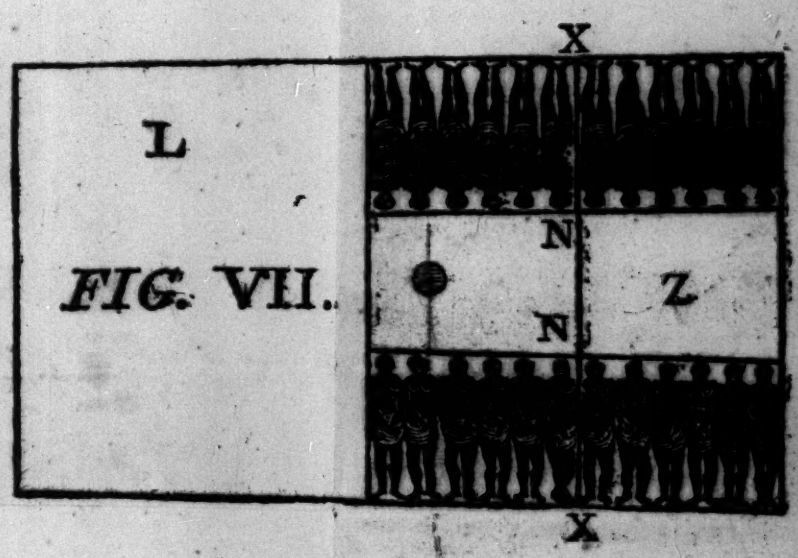
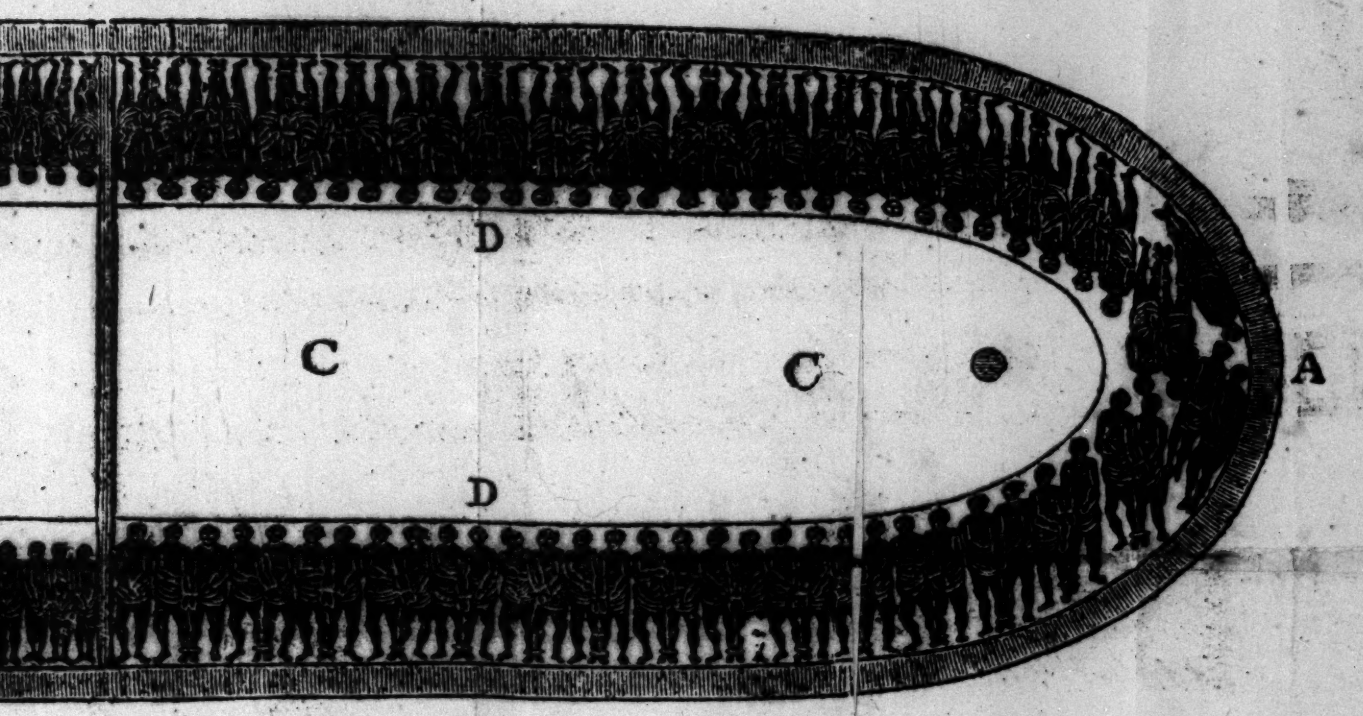
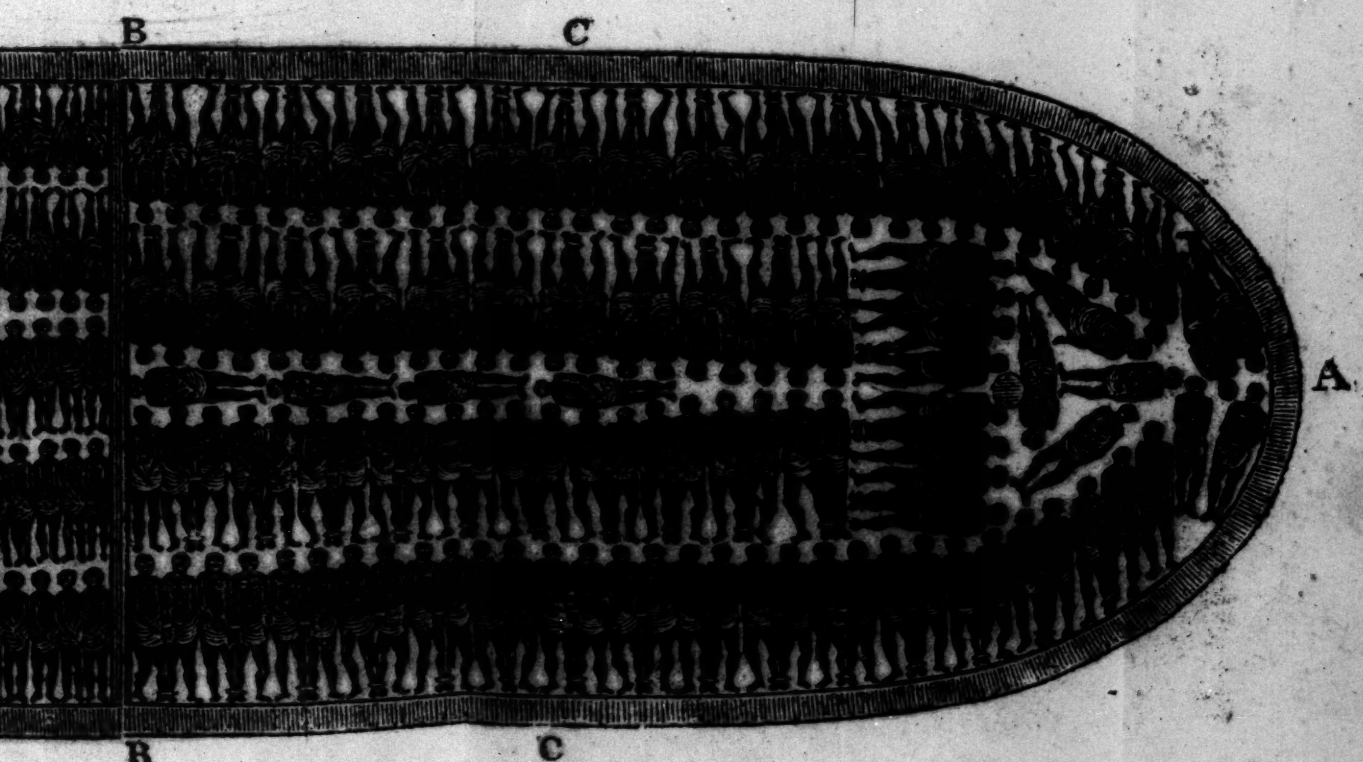


FIG. VII.





VI. and VII.) will be found to amount to *four hundred and fifty-one.* Now, if it be conſidered that the ſhip Brookes is of 320 tons, and that ſhe is allowed to carry by Act of Parliament *four hundred and fifty-four perſons*, it is evident that if three more could be wedged among the number repreſented in the plan, this plan would contain preciſely the number which the Act directs; and if it ſhould be farther conſidered that there ought to be in each apartment in the plan, one or more tubs, as well as ſtanchions to ſupport the platforms and decks, for which no deduction has been made, in order to give every poſſible advantage in ſtowing, then the above plan may be conſidered as giving a very favourable repreſentation of the ſtowing of the negroes *even ſince the late regulating Act.* The plan, therefore, abundantly proves that the ſtowage of theſe poor people, as well as the conſequences of it, muſt have been as deſcribed by the Evidences above; for, if when four hundred and fifty-one ſlaves are put into the different rooms of the Brookes, the floors are not only covered with bodies, but theſe bodies actually touch each other, what muſt have been their ſituation, when ſix hundred were ſtowed in them at the time alluded to by Dr. Trotter, who belonged to this ſhip, and ſix hundred and nine by the confeſſion of the ſlave merchants in a ſubſequent voyage †.

To come now to the different incidents on the paſſage. Mr. Falconbridge ſays, that there is a place in every ſhip for the ſick ſlaves, but there are no accommodations for them, for *they lie on the bare planks.* He has ſeen frequently the prominent parts of their bones about the ſhoulder-blade and knees *bare.*

He ſays he cannot conceive any ſituation ſo dreadful and diſguſting as that of ſlaves when ill of the flux: in the Alexander, the deck was *covered with blood and mucus*, and reſembled *a ſlaughter-houſe.* The ſtench and foul air were intolerable.

† The ſituation of the ſlaves muſt be dreadful even on the preſent regulated plan; for their bodies not only touch each other, but many of them have not even room to ſit upright; for when every deduction has been made, the height above the platform D F H, Fig. I. and below it C E G, is in the Brookes but two feet ſeven inches. The average height in nine other veſſels meaſured by Captain Parrey, was only five feet two inches; and in the Venus and Kitty, the ſlaves had not two feet above or below the platforms. The ſlaves immediately under the beams muſt be in a ſtill more dreadful ſituation, as is ſeen by the plan; for in Fig. I. under the upper deck P P, and lower deck A A, theſe beams are repreſented by ſhaded ſquares, as alſo they are introduced in Fig. II. and III.

The ſlaves, ſhackled together, frequently quarrel. In each apartment there are three or four tubs placed for their convenience: thoſe however at a diſtance find it difficult to get over other ſlaves to theſe tubs: ſometimes if one wants to go to them, his companion refuſes to go with him; if relaxed he exonerates while diſputing over his neighbours. This cauſes great diſturbance.

He has known ſeveral ſlaves on board refuſe ſuſtenance, *with a deſign to ſtarve themſelves.* Compulſion was uſed in every ſhip he was in to make them take their food. He has known alſo many inſtances of their refuſing to take medicines when ſick, becauſe *they wiſhed to die.* A woman on board the Alexander, was dejected from the moment ſhe came on board, and refuſed both food and medicine: being aſked by the interpreter what ſhe wanted, ſhe replied, *nothing but to die*—and ſhe did die. Many other ſlaves expreſſed the ſame wiſh.

The ſhips, he ſays, are *fitted up with a view to prevent* ſlaves jumping overboard; notwithſtanding which he has known inſtances of their doing ſo. In the Alexander two were loſt in this way. In the ſame voyage, near twenty jumped overboard out of the Enterpriſe, Capt. Wilſon, and ſeveral from a large Frenchman in Bonny River.

In his firſt voyage he ſaw at Bonny, on board the Emilia, a woman chained to the deck, who, the chief mate ſaid, was mad. On his ſecond voyage, there was a woman on board his own ſhip, whom they were forced to chain at certain times. In a lucid interval ſhe was ſold at Jamaica. He aſcribes this inſanity to *their being torn from their connections and country.*

Doctor Trotter, examined on the ſame ſubject, ſays, that the man ſold with his family for witchcraft, (of which he had been accuſed, *out of revenge*, by a Caboſheer, p. 21.) refuſed all ſuſtenance after he came on board. Early next morning it was found he had attempted to cut his throat. Dr. Trotter ſewed up the wound, but the following night the man had not only torn out the ſutures, but had made a ſimiliar attempt on the other ſide. From the ragged edges of the wound, and the blood upon his finger ends, it appeared to have been done with his nails, for though ſtrict ſearch was made through all the rooms, no inſtrument was found. He declared *he never would go with white men*, uttered incoherent ſentences, and looked wiſhfully at the ſkies. His hands were ſecured, but *perſiſting to refuſe all ſuſtenance*, he died of hunger in eight or ten days.

He remembers alſo an inſtance of a woman who periſhed from refuſing food; ſhe was repeatedly flogged, and victuals

forced into her mouth, but *no means* could make her ſwallow it, and ſhe lived for the four laſt days in a ſtate of torpid inſenſibility.

A man jumped overboard, at Annamaboe and was drowned. Another alſo, on the Middle Paſſage, but he was taken up. A woman alſo, after having been taken up, was chained for ſome time to the mizen maſt, but being let looſe again made a ſecond attempt, was again taken up, and expired under the floggings given her in conſequence.

Mr. Wilſon, ſpeaking alſo on the ſame ſubject, relates among *many caſes where force was neceſſary* to oblige the ſlaves to take food, that of a young man. He had not been long on board before he perceived him get thin. On inquiry he found the man had not taken his food, and refuſed taking any. Mild means were then uſed to divert him from his reſolution, as well as promiſes that he ſhould have any thing he wiſhed for: but ſtill he refuſed to eat. They then whipped him with the cat, but this alſo was ineffectual. He always kept his teeth ſo faſt, that it was impoſſible to get any thing down. They then endeavoured to introduce a SPECULUM ORIS between them: but the points were too obtuſe to enter, and next tried a *bolus knife*, but with the ſame effect. In this ſtate he was for four or five days, when he was brought up as dead, to be thrown overboard; but Mr. Wilſon finding life ſtill exiſting, repeated his endeavours though in vain, and two days afterwards he was brought up again in the ſame ſtate as before. He then ſeemed to wiſh to get up. The crew aſſiſted him, and brought him aft to the fire place, when in a feeble voice, in his own tongue he aſked for water, which was given him. Upon this they began to have hopes of diſſuading him from his deſign, but he again ſhut his teeth as faſt as ever, *and reſolved to die*, and on the ninth day from his firſt refuſal he died.

Mr. Wilſon ſays it hurt his feelings much to be obliged to uſe the cat ſo frequently to force them to take their food. In the very act of chaſtiſement, they have looked up at him with a ſmile, and in their own language have ſaid, "*preſently we ſhall be no more.*"

In the ſame ſhip a woman found means to convey below the night preceding ſome rope-yarn, which ſhe tied to the head of the armourer's vice, then in the women's room. She faſtened it round her neck, and in the morning was found dead, with her head lying on her ſhoulder, whence it appeared, ſhe muſt have uſed great exertions to accompliſh her end. A young woman alſo hanged herſelf, by tying rope-yarn to a batten, near her uſual ſleeping-place, and then ſlipping off the

platform. The next morning ſhe was found warm, and he uſed the proper means for her recovery, but in vain.

In the ſame ſhip alſo, when off Annabona, a ſlave on the ſick liſt jumped overboard, and was picked up by the natives, but died ſoon afterwards. At another time, when at ſea, the captain and officers when at dinner, heard the alarm of a ſlave's being overboard, and found it true, for they perceived him making every exertion to drown himſelf. He *put his head under water* but *lifted his hands up;* and thus went down, *as if exulting that he had got away.*

Beſides the above inſtance, a man ſlave who came on board apparently well, became afterwards mad, and at length died inſane.

Mr. Claxton, the fourth ſurgeon examined on theſe points, declares the ſteerage and boys room to have been inſufficient to receive the ſick; they were therefore obliged to place together thoſe that were, and thoſe that were not diſeaſed, and in conſequence the diſeaſe and mortality ſpread more and more. The captain treated them with more tenderneſs than he has heard was uſual, but the men were not humane. Some of the moſt diſeaſed were obliged to keep on deck with a ſail ſpread for them to lie on. This, in a little time, became nearly covered *with blood and mucus*, which involuntarily iſſued from them, and therefore the ſailors, who had the diſagreeable taſk of cleaning the ſail, grew angry with the ſlaves, and uſed to beat them inhumanly with their hands, or with a cat. The ſlaves in conſequence grew fearful of committing this involuntary action, and when they perceived they had done it, would immediately creep to the tubs, and there ſit ſtraining with ſuch violence, as to produce a *prolapſus ani*, which could not be cured.

Some of the ſlaves on board the ſame ſhip, ſays Mr. Claxton, *had ſuch an averſion to leaving their native places*, that they threw themſelves overboard, on an idea that *they ſhould get back to their own country.* The captain, in order to obviate this idea, thought of an expedient, viz. to cut off the heads of thoſe who died, intimating to them, that if determined to go, they muſt return without their heads. The ſlaves were accordingly brought up to witneſs the operation. One of them ſeeing, when on deck, the carpenter ſtanding with his hatchet up ready to ſtrike off the head of a dead ſlave, with a violent exertion got looſe, and flying to the place where the nettings had been unlooſed, in order to empty the tubs, he darted overboard. The ſhip brought to, and a man was placed in the main chains to catch him, which he perceiving;

dived under water, and riſing again at a diſtance from the ſhip, made ſigns, which words cannot deſcribe, *expreſſive of his happineſs in eſcaping*. He then went down, and was ſeen no more. This circumſtance deterred the captain from trying the expedient any more, and therefore he reſolved for the future (*as he ſaw they were determined to throw themſelves overboard*) to keep a ſtrict watch; notwithſtanding which, ſome afterwards contrived to unlooſe the laſhing, ſo that two actually threw themſelves into the ſea, and were loſt; another was caught when about three parts overboard.

All the above incidents, deſcribed as to have happened on the Middle Paſſage, are amply corroborated by the other evidences. *The ſlaves lie on the bare boards*, ſays Surgeon Wilſon. They are *frequently bruiſed*, and the prominent parts of the body *excoriated*, adds the ſame gentleman, as alſo Trotter and Newton. Their being *linked together*, their *quarrelling*, and the *difficulty of getting to their tubs*, are additionally mentioned by Hall and Newton. They have been ſeen by Moreley *wallowing in their blood and excrement*. Claxton, Elliſon, and Hall deſcribe them as refuſing ſuſtenance, and *compelled to eat* by the whip. Morley has ſeen the pannekin daſhed againſt their teeth, and the rice held in their mouths, to make them ſwallow it, till they were almoſt ſtrangled, and they have even been *thumb-ſcrewed* * with this view in the ſhips of Town and Millar.

The man alſo, ſays the former, ſtolen at Galenas River, (p. 18.) refuſed to eat, and *perſiſted till he died*.

A woman ſays the latter, who was brought on board, refuſed ſuſtenance, neither would ſhe ſpeak. She was then ordered the thumb-ſcrews, ſuſpended in the mizen rigging, and every attempt was made with the cat to compell her to eat, *but to no purpoſe*. She died in three or four days afterwards. Mr. Millar was told that ſhe had ſaid the night before ſhe died, "*She was going to her friends*."

As a third ſpecifick inſtance, in another veſſel, may be mentioned that related by Mr. Iſaac Parker. There was a child, ſays he, on board of nine months old, which refuſed to eat, for which the captain took it up in his hand, and flogged it with a cat, ſaying at the ſame time, "Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you." The ſame child having ſwelled

* To ſhew the ſeverity of this puniſhment, Mr. Dove ſays, that while two ſlaves were under the torture of the thumb-ſcrews, the ſweat ran down their faces, and they trembled as under a violent ague fit, and Mr. Elliſon has known inſtances of their dying, a mortification having taken place in their thumbs in conſequence of theſe ſcrews.

feet, the captain ordered them to be put into water, *though the ſhip's cook told him it was too hot.* This brought off the ſkin and nails. He then orderd ſweet oil and cloths, which Iſaac Parker himſelf applied to the feet; and as the child at meſs time again refuſed to eat, the captain again took it up and flogged it, and tied a log of mango-wood eighteen or twenty inches long, and of twelve or thirteen pounds weight round its neck, as a puniſhment, He repeated the flogging for four days together at meſs time. The laſt time after flogging it, he let it drop out of his hand, with the ſame expreſſion as before, and accordingly in about three quarters of an hour the child died. He then called its mother to heave it overboard, and beat her for refuſing. He however forced her to take it up, and go to the ſhip's ſide, *where holding her head on one ſide to avoid the ſight, ſhe dropped her child overboard, after which ſhe cried for many hours.*

Beſides inſtances of ſlaves refuſing to eat, with the view of deſtroying themſelves, and dying in conſequence of it, thoſe *of their going mad*, are confirmed by Town, and of their *jumping overboard*, or attempting to do it, by Town, Millar, Elliſon, and Hall.

Other incidents on the paſſage, mentioned by ſome of the evidences in their examination, may be divided into three kinds.

The firſt kind conſiſts of inſurrections on the part of the ſlaves. Some of theſe frequently attempted to riſe, but were prevented, (Wilſon, Town, Trotter, Newton, Dalrymple, Elliſon,) others roſe, but were quelled, (Elliſon, Newton, Falconbridge,) and others roſe, and ſucceeded, killing almoſt all the whites, (Falconbridge and Town).—Mr. Town ſays, that inquiring of the ſlaves into the cauſe of theſe inſurrections, he he has been aſked, *what buſineſs he had to carry them from their country? They had wives and children, whom they wanted to be with.*

After an inſurrection, Mr. Elliſon ſays, he has ſeen them flogged, and the cook's tormentors and tongs *heated to burn their fleſh.* Mr. Newton alſo adds, that it is uſual for captains, after inſurrections and plots happen, to flog the ſlaves. Some captains, on board whoſe ſhips he has been, added the thumb-ſcrew, and one in particular told him repeatedly that he *had put ſlaves to death after an inſurrection by various modes of torture.*

The ſecond ſort of incident on the paſſage is mentioned by Mr. Falconbridge in the inſtance of an Engliſh veſſel *blowing up* off Galenas, and moſt of the men-ſlaves, *entangled in their irons, periſhing.*

The third ſort is deſcribed by Mr. Hercules Roſs as follows. One inſtance, ſays he, marked with peculiar circumſtances of horror, occurs:—About twenty years ago a ſhip from Africa, with about four hundred ſlaves on board, ſtruck upon ſome ſhoals, called the Morant Keys, diſtant eleven leagues, S. S. E. off the eaſt end of Jamaica. The officers and ſeamen of the ſhip landed in their boats, carrying with them arms and proviſions. The ſlaves were left on board in their irons and ſhackles. This happened in the night time. The Morant Keys conſiſt of three ſmall ſandy iſlands, and he underſtood that the ſhip had ſtruck upon the ſhoals, at about half a league to windward of them. When morning came, it was diſcovered that the negroes had got out of their irons, and were buſy making rafts, upon which they placed the women and children, whilſt the men, and others capable of ſwimming, attended upon the rafts, whilſt they drifted before the wind towards the iſland where the ſeamen had landed. From an *apprehenſion* that the negroes would conſume the water and proviſions which the ſeamen had landed, they came to the reſolution of deſtroying them, by means of their fire-arms and other weapons. As the poor wretches approached the ſhore, *they actually deſtroyed between three and four hundred of them.* Out of the whole cargo *only thirty-three or thirty-four were ſaved*, and brought to Kingſton, where Mr. Roſs ſaw them ſold at public vendue. This ſhip, to the beſt of his recollection, was conſigned to a Mr. Hugh Wallace, of the pariſh of St. Elizabeth's.

Mr. Roſs ſays, in extenuation of this maſſacre, that the crew were probably drunk, or they would not have acted ſo, but he does not know it to have been the caſe.

When the ſhips arrive at their deſtined ports, the ſlaves are expoſed to ſale. They are ſold either by ſcramble or by vendue, (i. e.) publick auction, or by lots. The ſale by ſcramble is thus deſcribed by Mr. Falconbridge. "In the Emilia, (ſays he) at Jamaica, the ſhip was darkened with ſails, and covered round. The men ſlaves were placed on the main deck, and the women on the quarter deck. The purchaſers on ſhore were informed a gun would be fired when they were ready to open the ſale. A great number of people came on board with tallies or cards in their hands, with their own names upon them, and ruſhed through the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes. Some had three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to enircle as many as they thought fit for their purpoſe. In the yard at Grenada, he adds, (where another of his ſhips, the Alexander, ſold by ſcramble) the women were

ſo terrified, that ſeveral of them got out of the yard, and ran about St. George's town as if they were mad. In his ſecond voyage, while lying at Kingſton, he ſaw a ſale by ſcramble on board the Tryal, Captain Macdonald. Forty or fifty of the ſlaves leaped into the ſea, all of which, however, he believes, were taken up again." This is a very general mode of ſale. Mr. Baillie ſays, it was the common mode in America where he has been. Mr. Fitzmaurice has been at twenty ſales by ſcramble in Jamaica. Mr. Clappeſon never ſaw any other mode of ſale during his reſidence there, and it is mentioned as having been practiſed under the inſpection of Morley and of Trotter.

The ſlaves ſold by publick auction or vendue are generally the *refuſe*, or ſickly ſlaves. Theſe are in ſuch a ſtate of health, that they ſell, ſays Baillie, *greatly under price*. Falconbridge has known them ſold for *five dollars each*, Town for *a guinea*, and Mr. Hercules Roſs as low as *a ſingle dollar*.

The ſtate of ſuch is deſcribed to be very deplorable by General Tottenham and Mr. Hercules Roſs. The former ſays, that he once obſerved at Barbadoes a number of ſlaves that had been landed from a ſhip. They were brought into the yard adjoining the place of ſale. Thoſe that were not very ill were put into little huts, and thoſe that were worſe were left in the yard to die, for *nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink; and ſome of them lived three days in that ſituation*. The latter has frequently ſeen the very *refuſe* (as they are *termed*) of the ſlaves of Guinea ſhips landed and carried to the vendue-maſters in a very wretched ſtate; ſometimes in the agonies of death; and he has known inſtances *of their expiring in the piazza of the vendue-maſter*.

Mr. Newton ſays, that in none of the ſales he ſaw was there any care ever taken to prevent ſuch ſlaves as were relations from being ſeparated. *They were ſeparated as ſheep and lambs by the butcher*. This ſeparation of relations and friends is confirmed by Daviſon, Trotter, Clappeſon, and Town. Fitzmaurice alſo mentions the ſame, with an exception only to infants; but Mr. Falconbridge ſays, that one of his captains (Frazer) recommended it to the planters, never to ſeparate relations and friends. He ſays he once heard of a perſon refuſing to purchaſe a man's wife, and was next day informed *the man had hanged himſelf*.

With reſpect to the mortality of ſlaves in the paſſage, Mr. Falconbridge ſays, that in three voyages he purchaſed 1100, and loſt 191; Trotter, in one voyage, about 600, and loſt about 70; Millar, in one voyage, 490, and loſt 180; Elliſon,

in three voyages, where he recollects the mortality, bought 895, and loſt 356. In one of theſe voyages, ſays the latter, the ſlaves had the ſmall-pox. In this caſe he has ſeen the platform one continued ſcab: *eight or ten of them were hauled up dead in a morning, and the fleſh and ſkin peeled off their wriſts when taken hold of.*

Mr. Morley ſays, that in four voyages he purchaſed about 1325, and loſt about 313. Mr. Town, in two voyages, 630, and loſt 115. Mr. Claxton, in one voyage, 250, and loſt 132. In this voyage, he ſays, they were ſo ſtraitened for proviſions, that if they had been ten days more at ſea, they muſt either have eaten the ſlaves that died, or have made the living ſlaves *walk the plank*, a term *in uſe among Guinea captains for making the ſlaves throw themſelves overboard.* He ſays alſo that he fell in with the Hero, Captain Withers, which had loſt 360 ſlaves, or more than half her cargo, by the ſmall-pox. The ſurgeon of the Hero told him, that when the ſlaves were removed from one place to another, *they left marks of their ſkin and blood upon the deck*, and it was the moſt horrid ſight he had ever ſeen.

Mr. Wilſon ſtates, that in his ſhip, and three others, belonging to the ſame concern, they purchaſed among them 2064 ſlaves, and loſt 586. He adds, that he fell in with the Hero, Captain Withers, at St. Thomas's, which had loſt 159 ſlaves by the ſmall-pox. Capt. Hall, in two voyages, purchaſed 550, and loſt 110. He adds, that he has known ſome ſhips in the ſlave trade bury *a quarter*, ſome *a third*, and others *half* of their cargo. *It is very uncommon to find ſhips without ſome loſs* in their ſlaves.*

Beſides thoſe which die on the paſſage, it muſt be noticed here, that ſeveral die ſoon after they are ſold. Sixteen, ſays Mr. Falconbridge, were ſold by auction out of the Alexander, *all of whom died* before the ſhip left the Weſt Indies. Out of fourteen, ſays Mr. Claxton, ſold from his ſhip in an infectious ſtate, *only four lived;* and though in the four voyages mentioned by Mr. Wilſon no leſs than 586 periſhed on the paſſage out of 2064, yet 220 additionally died of the ſmall-pox in a very little time after their delivery in the River Plate, making the total loſs for thoſe ſhips not leſs than 836, out of 2064.

* Total purchaſed 7904, loſt 2053, excluſive of the Hero, being above one fourth of the number purchaſed. The reader will obſerve, that Mr. Claxton fell in with the Hero on one voyage, and Mr. Wilſon on another.

The cauſes of the diſorders which carry off the ſlaves in ſuch numbers, are aſcribed by Mr. Falconbridge to a *diſeaſed mind*, *ſudden tranſitions from heat to cold*, *a putrid atmoſphere*, *wallowing in their own excrements*, and *being ſhackled together*. A diſeaſed mind, he ſays, is undoubtedly one of the cauſes; for many of the ſlaves on board refuſed medicines, giving as a reaſon *that they wanted to die*, and could never be cured. Some few on the other hand, *who did not appear to think ſo much of their ſituation*, *recovered*. That ſhackling together is alſo another cauſe, was evident from the circumſtance of the men dying *in twice the proportion* the women did; and ſo long as the trade continues, he adds, *they muſt be* ſhackled together for no man will attempt to carry them out of irons.

Surgeon Wilſon, examined on the ſame topick ſpeaks nearly in the ſame manner. He ſays, that of the death of two-thirds of thoſe who died in his ſhip, the primary cauſe was *melancholy*. This was evident not only from the *ſymptoms* of the diſorder, and the circumſtance that *no one who had it was ever cured*, whereas thoſe *who had it not*, and yet were ill, *recovered*, but from the language of the ſlaves themſelves, who declared *that they wiſhed to die*, as alſo from Captain Smith's own declaration, who ſaid, *their deaths were to be aſcribed to their thinking ſo much of their ſituation*. Though ſeveral died of the flux, he attributes their death primarily to the cauſe before aſſigned; for, ſays he, their original diſorder was a *fixed melancholy*, and the ſymptoms lowneſs of ſpirits and deſpondency. Hence they refuſed food. This only increaſed the ſymptoms. The ſtomach afterwards got weak. Hence the belly ached, fluxes enſued, and they were carried off.

Mr. Town, the only other perſon who ſpeaks of the cauſes of the diſorders of the ſlaves, ſays, "they often fall ſick, ſometimes owing to their crowded ſtate *but moſtly* to *grief for being carried away from their country and friends*." This he knows from inquiring frequently (which he was enabled to do by underſtanding their language) into the circumſtances of their grievous complaints *.

As the trade may be ſaid to end on the delivery of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, it may not be improper to ſtate the opinion of ſome of the Evidence concerning it.

* It is evident from hence, *that no Regulation* of the Trade can heal the evils in this branch of the ſubject. It can never cure *melancholy or a diſeaſed mind*. It can never prevent an *injured* people from *riſing if out of irons*, nor can it take away corrupted air, unleſs it reduce the number to be carried ſo low, as not to make it worth the while of the ſlave-merchants to tranſport them.

Mr. Wilſon ſtates, that his reaſon for quitting his late employment was, that he did not like to continue in a trade, that did not perfectly coincide with his ideas, and was not to his ſatisfaction, being *obliged* to make uſe of means for the preſervation of the cargo, *contrary to his feelings and ſenſe of humanity.*

Mr. Falconbridge declares, that in his firſt and ſecond voyage he reflected but little on the juſtice or injuſtice of the trade. In his laſt voyage he reflected more, and *the more he did ſo, the more he was convinced* it was an *unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, and he could not reconcile it to his conſcience.* This was the reaſon for his leaving it. He adds, that he believes at the time he left it, he could have gone again with Capt. Frazer, *if he had choſen it*, and he was afterwards *repeatedly ſolicited* to go to the Gold Coaſt by Captain Thompſon.

Captain Wilſon declares from the whole of his experience, as an *impartial man*, he has long ſince formed an opinion, (*which each ſucceeding day's experience has juſtified and confirmed*) that it is a trade evidently *founded on injuſtice and treachery, manifeſtly carried on by oppreſſion and cruelty, and not unfrequently terminating in murder.*

Captain Hall makes a declaration alſo, that when he left the trade he could have obtained the command of a ſhip in it, which command at that time *would have been a very lucrative one*, but that he quitted it *from a conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.*

CHAP. IV.

Africans, when bought, their general Eſtimation and Treatment—Theſe become either Plantation or In and Out-Door-Slaves—Labour of the Plantation Slaves in and out of Crop—Their Days of Reſt—Food—Clothing—Houſes—Property—Situation of the In and Out Door Slaves—Ordinary Puniſhment of the Slaves by the Whip and Cow-ſkin—Frequency and ſeverity of theſe Puniſhments—Extraordinary Puniſhments of many Kinds—The Concern which the very Women take in theſe Ordinary and Extraordinary Puniſhments——The different nominal Offences mentioned in the Evidence, which Occaſion them—Capital Offences and Puniſhments—Slaves turned off to ſteal, beg, or ſtarve, when incapable of Labour—Slaves have little or no Redreſs againſt ill Uſage of any ſort—Laws lately enacted, but not with an Intention to ſerve the Slaves, and of little or no Uſe.

THE Natives of Africa, when bought by the European Coloniſts, are generally eſteemed, ſays Dr. Jackſon, *a ſpecies of inferior beings, whom the right of purchaſe gives the owner a power of uſing at his will.* Conſiſtently with this definition, we find the evidence aſſerting with one voice, that they "have no legal protection againſt their maſters," and of courſe that "their treatment varies according to the diſpoſition of their Maſters." If their maſters be good men, ſays the Dean of Middleham, they are well off, but, if not, they ſuffer. The general treatment, however, is deſcribed to be very ſevere. Some ſpeak more moderately than others upon it, but *all concur* in the general uſage as being bad. Mr. Woolrich, examined upon this point, ſays, that he never knew the beſt maſter in the Weſt Indies uſe his ſlaves ſo well as the worſt maſter his ſervants in England; that their ſtate is inconceivable; that it cannot be deſcribed to the full underſtanding of thoſe who have never ſeen it, and that a ſight of ſome gangs would convince more than all words. Others again make uſe of the words, "uſed with great cruelty,—"like beaſts or worſe:" and the Dean of Middleham, after balancing in his mind all his knowledge upon this ſubject, cannot ſay, (ſetting aſide on one hand particular inſtances of great ſeverity, and on the other hand particular inſtances of great humanity) that treatment altogether humane and proper was the lot of ſuch as he had either obſerved or heard of.

To come to a more particular deſcription of their treatment, it will be proper to divide them into different claſſes. The firſt may be ſaid to conſiſt of thoſe who are bought for the *plantation uſe*. Theſe will be artificers of various deſcriptions, and the * field ſlaves. The ſecond will conſiſt of what may be termed *In or Out-door ſlaves*. The former are domeſticks both in town and country, and the latter porters, fiſhermen, boatmen, and the like.

The field ſlaves, whoſe caſe is the firſt to be conſidered, are called out by day-light to their work. For this purpoſe the ſhell blows, and they hurry into the field. If they are not there in time they are flogged. When put to their work, they perform it in rows, and *without exception under the whip of drivers*, a certain number of whom are allotted to each gang. By theſe means the weak are made to keep up with the ſtrong. Mr. Fitzmaurice is ſorry to ſay, that from this cauſe many of them are hurried to the grave, as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally flogged up by the driver. This, however, is the mode of their labour. As to the time of it, they begin, as before ſaid, at day-light, and continue, with two intermiſſions, (one for half an hour in the morning, and the other for two hours at noon) till ſunſet.

The above deſcription, however, does not include the whole of their operations for the day, for it is expected that they ſhall range about and pick graſs for the cattle. It is clear, from the different evidences, that the cuſtom of graſs-picking varies, as to the time in which it is to be done, on different eſtates, for on ſome it is to be done within the intervals of reſt ſaid to be allowed at noon, and on others after the labour of the day. It is complained of, however, in either caſe, as a great grievance, inaſmuch as it lengthens the time of work; as alſo becauſe, particularly in droughts, it is very difficult to find graſs at all, and becauſe if they do not bring it in ſufficient quantities, they are puniſhed. Graſs-picking, ſays Capt. Smith, is one of the moſt frequent cauſes of puniſhment. He has ſeen ſome flogged for not getting ſo great a quantity of it as others, and that at a time, when he has thought it *impoſſible they could have gotten half the quantity*, having been upon the ſpot.

It is impoſſible to paſs over in ſilence the almoſt total want of indulgence which the women ſlaves frequently experience

* Among theſe are again included watchmen, drivers, and head-negroes.

during the operations in the field. It is aſſerted by Dalrymple, that the drivers in uſing their whip never diſtinguiſh ſex. As to pregnant women, and ſuch as had children, Mr. Davies believes they were allowed to come into the field a little later than the reſt. They did little work after they were four months gone with child, in the experience of Mr. Duncan. Dr. Harriſon alſo has known ſome overſeers allow complaining pregnant women to retire from work, but he has ſeen them labouring in the field, when they ſeemed to have but a few months to go; they were generally worked as long as able. Much the ſame work, ſays Mr. Cook, was expected from pregnant women as others. He has ſeen them holing till a few hours of their delivery, and has known them receive thirty-nine laſhes while in this ſtate. Mr. Woolrich thinks the pregnant women had ſome little indulgencies, but it was cuſtomary for them to work in the field till near their time. The whip was occaſionally uſed upon them, but not ſo ſeverely as upon the men. Mr. Rees obſerving the gangs at work, ſaw a pregnant woman rather behind the reſt. The driver called her to come on, and going back ſtruck her with the whip up towards her ſhoulders. He aſked another pregnant woman, if ſhe was forced to work like the reſt, and ſhe ſaid, Yes. Sir G. Young adds, that women were conſidered to miſcarry in general from their hard field labour; and Captain Hall ſays, that, where they had children, they were ſent again after the month to labour with the children upon their backs, and ſo little time afforded them to attend their wants, that he has ſeen a woman ſeated to give ſuck to her child, rouſed from that ſituation by a ſevere blow from the cart whip.*

The above accounts of the mode and duration of the labour of the field ſlaves, are confined to that ſeaſon of the year which is termed, "Out of Crop," or the time in which they are preparing the lands for the crop. In the crop ſeaſon, however, the labour is of much longer duration. Weakly handed eſtates, ſays Mr. Fitzmaurice, which are far the moſt numerous, form their negroes in crop into two ſpells, which generally change at twelve at noon, and twelve at night. The boilers and others about the works, relieved at twelve at noon, cut canes from ſhell-blow, (half paſt one) till dark, when they carry cane-tops or graſs to the cattle pens, and then

* In ſome eſtates, it is uſual to dig a hole in the ground, in which they put the bellies of pregnant women, while they whip them, that they may not excuſe puniſhment, nor yet endanger the life of the woman or child. (Dr. Jackſon, Lieutenant Daviſon.)

they may reſt till twelve at night, when they relieve the ſpell in the boiling-houſe, by which they themſelves had been relieved at twelve in the day. On all the eſtates the boiling goes on night and day without intermiſſion: but well handed eſtates have three ſpells, and intermiſſions accordingly.

Mr. Dalrymple, ſpeaking alſo of their labour in time of crop, ſays they are obliged to work *as long as they can*, which is as long as they can keep awake, or ſtand on their legs. Sometimes they fall aſleep, through exceſs of fatigue, when their arms are caught in the mill, and torn off. He ſaw ſeveral, who had loſt their arms in that way.

Mr. Cook ſtates, on the ſame ſubject, that in crop-time they work in general about eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and are often hurt *through mere fatigue and want of ſleep*. He knew a girl loſe her hand by the mill while feeding it, for being overcome by ſleep, ſhe dropped againſt the rollers. He has heard of ſeveral inſtances of this kind.

To this account of the labour of the ſlaves, both in and out of crop, it muſt be added here, that on ſome eſtates, it appears by the evidence, they have Sunday and Saturday afternoon out of crop to themſelves, that is, to cultivate their own grounds for their ſupport; on others, Sunday only; and on others, Sunday only in part, for ſome people, ſays the Dean of Middleham, required meat for the cattle on Sundays to be gathered twice in the day; and Lieutenant Daviſon ſays he has known them forced to work on Sundays for their maſters. It appears again, that in crop, on no eſtates, have they more than Sunday for the cultivation of their lands. The Dean of Middleham has known them continue boiling the ſugar till late on Saturday night, and in one inſtance remembers it to have been protracted till ſun-riſe on Sunday * morning: and the care afterwards of ſetting up the ſugar-jars muſt have required ſeveral hours.

The point, which may be conſidered next, may be that of the ſlaves food. This appears by the evidence to be ſubject to no rule. On ſome eſtates they are allowed land, which they cultivate for themſelves at the times mentioned above, but they have no proviſions allowed them, except perhaps a ſmall preſent of ſalt fiſh or beef, or ſalt pork, at Chriſtmas. On others they are allowed proviſions, but no land: and on others again they are allowed land and proviſions jointly. Without enumerating the different ratios mentioned to be allowed them by the different evidences, it may be ſufficient to

* It appears, that they have three or four holidays in the year, but the days are not ſpecified.

take the higheſt. The beſt allowance is evidently at Barbadoes, and the following is the account of it. The ſlaves in general, ſays General Tottenham, appeared to be ill fed: each ſlave had a pint of grain for twenty-four hours, and ſometimes half a rotten herring when to be had. When the herrings were *unfit for the whites*, they were bought up by the planters *for the ſlaves*. Mr. Davis ſays, that on thoſe eſtates in Barbadoes where he has ſeen the ſlaves allowance dealt out, a grown negro had nine pints of corn, and about one pound of ſalt fiſh a week, but the grain of the Weſt-Indies is much lighter than wheat. He is of opinion, that in general they were too ſparingly fed. The Dean of Middleham alſo mentions nine pints per week as the quantity given, but that he has known maſters abridge it in the time of crop. This is the greateſt allowance mentioned throughout the whole of the evidence, and this is one of the caſes in which the ſlaves had proviſions but no land. Where, on the other hand, they have land and no proviſions, all the evidences agree that it is quite ample to their ſupport, but that *they have not ſufficient time to cultivate it*. Their lands too are often at the diſtance of *three miles* from their houſes, and Mr. Giles thinks the ſlaves were often ſo fatigued by the labour of the week as *ſcarcely to be capable of working in them on Sunday for their own uſe*. It is alſo mentioned as a great hardſhip, that often when they had cleared theſe lands, their maſter has taken them away for canes, giving them new wood-land in their ſtead, to be cleared afreſh. This circumſtance, together with the removal of their houſes, many of them have ſo taken to heart, as to have died.

Whether or no their food may be conſidered as ſufficient in general for their ſupport, may be better ſeen from the following than the preceding account. Mr. Cook ſays, that they have not ſufficient food. He has known both Africans and * *Creoles* eat the putrid carcaſes of animals, and is convinced they did it *through want*. Mr. J. Terry has known them, on eſtates *where they have been worſe fed than on others*, eat the putrid carcaſes of animals alſo. Dead mules, horſes, and cows, ſays Mr. Coor, were all burnt under the inſpection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night to eat them *through hunger*. It was generally ſaid to be done to prevent the negroes from eating them, leſt it ſhould breed diſtempers.

* All thoſe born *in the iſlands*, are called *Creoles*. Some have attributed the eating of the putrid carcaſes of Animals to the *vitiated taſte* of the ſlaves contracted *in their own country*, but the circumſtance of thoſe eating them, who are born in the iſlands, totally diſproves the allegation, and points out the real cauſe as aſſigned above.

Beſides theſe, there are proofs of a different nature. Giles, Coor, Captain Giles, Captain Smith, Daviſon, Duncan, Harriſon, and Dalrymple, agree, that many of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies were *thieves*, but they all agree alſo in aſſerting, that they ſtole in conſequence *of hunger, or being ill fed.* The uſual objects of their theft are ſaid by Terry, Clappeſon, Duncan, Harriſon, and the Dean of Middleham, to be *proviſions or food.* Where they were well fed, on the other hand, ſay Daviſon and Captain Giles, they† *did not ſteal*, and where they where ill fed, ſay Terry and Duncan, they ſtole at *the very hazard of their lives.* The Dean of Middleham and Harriſon confirm this, by ſtating that ſeveral in conſequence of attempting to ſteal proviſions, have been brought home wounded, and almoſt cut to pieces, by the watchmen.

On the ſubject of their clothing, there is the ſame variation as to quantity, as in their food. It depends on the diſpoſition and circumſtances of their maſters. The largeſt allowance in the evidence is that which is mentioned by Dr. Harriſon. The men, he ſays, at Chriſtmas, are allowed two frocks, and two pair of Oſnaburgh trowſers, and the women two coats and and two ſhifts a-piece. Some alſo have two hankerchiefs for the head. They have no other clothes than theſe, except they get them by their own extra labour. Woolrich and Coor agree, that as far as their experience went, the maſters did not expend for the clothing of their ſlaves more than half a crown or three ſhillings a year; and Cook ſays that they are in general but very indifferently clothed, and that *one half of them go almoſt naked in the field.*

With reſpect to their houſes and lodging, the accounts of the three following gentlemen will ſuffice.

Mr. Woolrich ſtates their houſes to be ſmall ſquare huts, built with poles, and thatched at the top and ſides with a kind of bamboo, and built by the ſlaves themſelves. He deſcribes them as lying in the middle of theſe huts before a ſmall fire, but to have no bedding. Some, he ſays, obtain a board or mat to lie on before the fire. A few of the head-ſlaves have cabins of boards raiſed from the floor, but no bedding, except ſome, who have a coarſe blanket.

The Reverend Mr. Rees, deſcribing their houſes nearly in the ſame manner, obſerves that their furniture conſiſts of ſtools and benches, that they had no beds or bedding in the houſes

† There is a ſaying in the Weſt Indies, "that you never ſee a negro but you ſee a thief;"—a ſaying which has a tendency to hurt the negroes in the eſtimation of thoſe who hear it, but which it is eaſy to explain from the above accounts.

he was in, but that ſome of them ſlept on the ground, and others on a board raiſed from it.

Some of the new ſlaves, ſays Dr. Harriſon, have a few blankets, but it is not the general practice: for in general they have no bedding at all.

Of the property of the field ſlaves, (the next article to be conſidered) the following teſtimonies will give a ſufficient illuſtration.

Many field ſlaves, ſays Mr. Woolrich, have it not in their power to earn any thing, excluſive of their maſter's work. Some few raiſe fowls, and ſome few pigs, and ſell them, but their *number is very few.*

Mr. Dalrymple does not ſay, that ſlaves never become poſſeſſed of much property, but he never knew an inſtance of it, nor *can he conceive how they can have time for it.*

The Dean of Middleham obſerves, that the quantity of ground allowed to field ſlaves for raiſing proviſions *does not admit of their* frequently poſſeſſing any conſiderable property. It is not likely they can ſpare much of their produce for ſale. Sometimes they poſſeſs a pig, and two or three fowls, and if they have alſo a few plantain trees, theſe may be the means of ſupplying them with knives, iron pots, and ſuch other conveniencies as their maſters do not allow them.

The greateſt property Mr. M. Terry ever knew a field ſlave to poſſeſs was two pigs, and a little poultry. *A field ſlave has not the means of getting much property.*

Mr. J. Terry has known the field ſlaves ſo poor *as not to be able to have poultry.* They were not allowed to keep ſheep on any eſtate he knew. On ſome they might keep two or three goats, but very few allowed it. Some keep pigs and poultry, if able to buy any.

To theſe teſtimonies it may be added, that all the evidences, to whom the queſtion has been propoſed, agree in anſwering, that they never knew nor heard of a field ſlave ever amaſſing ſuch a ſum, as enabled him to purchaſe *his own freedom.*

With reſpect to the artificers, ſuch as houſe carpenters, coopers, and maſons, and the drivers and head ſlaves who form the remaining part of the plantation ſlaves, they are deſcribed as having in general a more certain allowance of proviſions, and as being better off.

Having now deſcribed the ſtate of the *plantation*, it will be proper to ſay a few words on that of the *In and Out-door ſlaves.* The In-door ſlaves, or domeſticks, are allowed by all the evidences to be better clothed, and leſs worked than

the others, and invariably to look better. Some, however, complain of their being much pinched for food,* and the women often ſo as to be driven to proſtitution, but the general account is, that they are better fed than the field ſlaves. Their life, however, is deſcribed to be often wretched by being continually under the eye of their maſters and miſtreſſes, and therefore continually ſubject to be teized and mortified at their caprice, ſo that Forſter, (as will be explained hereafter) thinks their ſituation even harder in this reſpect than that of the *field ſlaves*, and Coor has known many of them wiſh to be ſent into the field.

With reſpect to the Out-door ſlaves, ſeveral perſons, who have a few ſlaves, and little work, allow them to work out, and oblige them to bring home three or four bits a day. The ſituation of theſe is conſidered to be very hard, for they are often unable to find work, and to earn the ſtated ſum, and yet, if they fail, they are ſeverely puniſhed. Mr. Clappeſon has known them ſteal graſs, and ſell it, to make up the ſum required.

In this deſcription may be ranked ſuch as follow the occupation of porters. Theſe are allowed to work out, and at the end of the week obliged to bring home to their maſters a certain weekly ſum. Their ſituation is much aggravated by having no fixed rates. If, ſays † Forſter, on being offered too little for their work they remonſtrate, they are often beaten, and receive nothing, and ſhould they refuſe the next call from the ſame perſon, they are ſummoned before a magiſtrate, and puniſhed on the parade for refuſal, and he has known them ſo puniſhed.

To the ſame deſcription belong thoſe unhappy females, who have leave to go out for proſtitution, and are obliged to bring their owners a certain payment per week. Handſome women are expected to bring home more money than the ordinary. They *are puniſhed* if they return *without the full wages of their proſtitution.*

Having now deſcribed the labour, food, clothing, houſes, property, and different kinds of employment of the plantation, as well as the ſituation of the In and Out-door ſlaves, as far as the evidence will warrant, it may be proper to advert to their puniſhments; and firſt, to thoſe that are inflicted by the cow-ſkin or the whip.

* Some give them one, two, or three bits a week to maintain themſelves upon, but the mode of feeding them, as well as their allowance, is ſubject to no rule.

† Mr. Forſter ſpeaks of Antigua.

In *the towns* many people have their ſlaves flogged upon their own premiſes, in which caſe it is performed by a man, who is paid for it, and who goes round the town in queſt of delinquents. But thoſe, ſays Mr. H. Roſs, who do not chuſe to diſturb their neighbours with the ſlaves cries, ſend them to the warfs or goal, where they are corrected alſo by perſons paid. At other times they are whipped publickly round the town, and at others tied down, or made to ſtand in ſome publick place, and receive it there.

When they are flogged on the wharfs, to which they go for the convenience of the cranes and weights, they are deſcribed by H. Roſs, Morley, Jeffreys, Town, and Captain Scott, to have their *arms* tied to the *hooks of the crane*, and *weights of fifty ſix* pounds applied to *their feet*. In this ſituation the crane is wound up, ſo that it lifts them nearly from the ground and keeps them in a ſtretched poſture, when the whip or cow-ſkin is uſed. After this they are again whipped, but with *ebony buſhes* (which are more prickly than the thorn buſhes in this country) in order to *let out the congealed blood*. Captain Scott, deſcribing it ſays, that he ſaw a white man purſue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by the hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoiſted up, but ſo as ſtill to touch the ground, another negro was ordered to whip him with a prickly buſh. He walked away from the diſagreeable ſight. The next day he ſaw the ſame negro lying on the beach, and, with the aſſiſtance of another, taking the prickles out of his breech, ſeemingly ſwelled and bloody. The negro aſſigned as a reaſon for the whipping, the wharfinger thought *he had ſtaid too long on an errand*.

Reſpecting the whippings in goal and round the town, Dr. Harriſon thought them too ſevere to be inflicted on any of the human ſpecies. He attended a man, who had been flogged in goal, who was ill in conſequence five or ſix weeks. It was by his maſter's order *for not coming when he was called*. He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds made by the whip.

On the other mode General Tottenham obſerves, that he was at a planter's houſe when the Jumper came. He heard him aſk the maſter, if he had any commands for him. The Maſter replied, No. The Jumper then aſked the Miſtreſs, who replied, Yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen laſhes. General Tottenham expoſtulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the publick parade,

and he had the curioſity to go with them. The Jumper carried a long whip like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the breech. Every ſtroke brought fleſh from her. She behaved with aſtoniſhing fortitude. After the puniſhment, ſhe, according to cuſtom, curtſied and thanked him: the other had the ſame puniſhment, and behaved in the ſame way.

The puniſhments *in the country* by means of the whip and cow-ſkin appear to differ, except in one inſtance, from thoſe which have been mentioned of *the town*.

It is uſual for thoſe, ſays Mr. Coor, who do not come into the field in time to be puniſhed. In this caſe a few ſteps before they join the gang they throw down the hoe, clap both hands on their heads, and patiently take ten, fifteen, or twenty laſhes.

The mode of puniſhment, as ſeen by Captain Smith and ſeveral others (and which is the general mode) was as follows:—A negro was ſtretched on his belly on the ground, with a ſlave to hold each hand and leg, or each hand and leg was faſtened to a ſtake. The puniſhment was inflicted by a negro with a long whip tapering from the ſize of a man's thumb to a ſmall laſh. At every ſtroke a piece of fleſh was drawn out, and that with much unconcern to the director of the puniſhment.

There is another mode deſcribed by Mr. Coor. About eight o'clock, ſays he, the overſeer goes to breakfaſt, and if he has any criminals at home, he orders a black man to follow him; for it is then uſual to take ſuch out of the ſtocks, and flog them before the overſeer's houſe. The method is generally this:—The delinquent is ſtripped and tied on a ladder, his legs on the ſides and his arms above his head, and ſometimes a rope is tied round his middle. The driver whips him on the bare ſkin, and if the overſeer thinks he does not lay it on hard enough, he ſometimes knocks him down with his own hand, or makes him change places with the delinquent, and be ſeverely whipped. Mr. Coor has known many receive on the ladder, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty laſhes, and ſome two cool hundreds, as they are generally called. He has known many returned to confinement, and in one, two, or three days, brought to the ladder, and receive the ſame compliment, or thereabouts, as before. They ſeldom take them off the ladder, until all the ſkin, from the hams to the ſmall of the back, appears only raw fleſh and blood, and then they waſh the parts with ſalt pickle. This appeared

to him, from the convulſions it occaſioned, more cruel than the whipping, but it was done to prevent mortification. He has known many after ſuch whipping ſent to the field under a guard and worked all day, with no food but what their friends might give them, out of their own poor pittance. He has known them returned to the ſtocks at night, and worked next day ſucceſſively. This cruel whipping, hard working, and ſtarving has, to his knowledge, made many commit ſuicide. He remembers fourteen ſlaves, who, from bad treatment, rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together.

In ſpeaking of the puniſhments of the ſlaves by means of the whip and cow-ſkin, it is impoſſible to paſs over the frequency and ſeverity of them as deſcribed in the evidence, as well as the lengths to which ſome of their owners go upon theſe occaſions.

On the *frequency* of theſe puniſhments ſomething may be deduced from the different expreſſions which the different evidences adopt according to their different opportunities of obſervation. *Many* of the field ſlaves are ſaid by Duncan, Dalrymple, Fitzmaurice, and Rees, to be marked with the whip. *A great proportion* of them is the term uſed by Captain Wilſon. That they are marked *commonly* or *generally*, or that the *generality of them* are marked, are the expreſſions agreed in by the Dean of Middleham, Lieutenant Simpſon, Captain Roſs, Captain Hall (Navy) Captain Giles, Captain Smith, and Lieutenant Daviſon. *The greater part* of them, ſays Jeffreys, *moſt of them*, ſay Coor and Woolrich, bear the marks of the whip.

With reſpect to the *ſeverity* of theſe puniſhments, it may be ſhewn by deſcribing the nature of the inſtrument with which they are inflicted, and the power it has, and the effect it produces wherever it is ſeriouſly applied.

The whip, ſays Woolrich, is generally made of plaited cow-ſkin, with a thick ſtrong laſh. It is ſo formidable an inſtrument in the hands of ſome of the overſeers, that by means of it they can take the ſkin off a horſe's back. He has heard them boaſt of laying the marks of it in a deal board, and he has ſeen it done. On its application on a ſlave's back he has ſeen the blood ſpurt out immediately on the firſt ſtroke. *

† Nearly the ſame account of its conſtruction is given by

* The military whip, ſays General Tottenham, cuts the ſkin, whereas that for the negroes cuts out the fleſh.

† Dr. Jackſon and others mention another kind of whip in uſe which they deſcribe to be like what our waggoners uſe, and to be thrown at

other evidences, and its power and effects are thus deſcribed. At every ſtroke, ſays Captain Smith, *a peice of fleſh was drawn out.* Dalrymple avers the ſame thing. It will even *bring blood through the breeches*, ſays J. Terry; and ſuch is the effuſion of blood on thoſe occaſions, adds Fitzmaurice, as to make their frocks, if immediately put on, appear *as ſtiff as buckram;* and Coor obſerves, that at his firſt going to Jamaica, *a fight of common flogging* would put him *in a tremble, ſo that he did not feel right for the reſt of the day.* It is obſerved alſo by Dr. Harriſon and the Dean of Middleham, that the inciſions are ſometimes ſo deep *that you may lay your fingers in the wounds.* There are alſo *wheals*, ſays Mr. Coor, *from their hams to the ſmall of their backs.* Theſe wheals, cuts, or marks, are deſcribed by Captain Thompſon, Dean of Middleham, Mr. Jeffreys, and General Tottenham, *as indelible*, as *laſting to old age*, or as ſuch *as no time can eraſe*, and Woolrich has often ſeen their backs *one undiſtinguiſhed maſs of lumps, holes, and furrows.*

As farther proofs of *the ſeverity* of theſe puniſhments by the whip or cow-ſkin, the following facts may be adduced. Duncan and Falconbridge have known them ſo whipped that *they could not lie down.* Fitzmaurice has often known pregnant women ſo ſeverely whipped as *to have miſcarried in conſequence of it.* Clappeſon alſo knew a pregnant woman whipped and *delivered on the ſpot.* Daviſon was once ſent for to a woman ſlave, who *miſcarried* from ſevere flogging, *when both ſhe and the child died.* He knew alſo a new negro girl *die of a mortification of her wounds* two days after the whipping had taken place. A caſe ſimilar to the laſt is alſo mentioned by Mr. Rees. Finding one day in his walks a woman lying down and groaning, he underſtood from her that ſhe had been ſo ſeverely whipped for running away, that ſhe could hardly move from the place where ſhe was. Her left ſide, where ſhe had been moſt whipped, appeared in a *mortifying ſtate, and almoſt covered with worms.* He relieved her, as ſhe was hungry, and in a day or two afterwards going to viſit her again, *found ſhe was dead and buried.* To mention other inſtances: a planter *flogged his driver to death*, and even boaſted of it to the perſon from whom Mr. Dalrymple had the account. Captain Hall alſo (of the Navy) knows by an inſtance that fell under his eye,

the diſtance of three or four paces, which the former obſerves greatly increaſes the weight of the laſhes. To this whip Captain Cook alludes, when he ſays, a dextrous flogger could ſtrike ſo exactly as to lodge the point of the laſh juſt within the fleſh, where it would remain till picked out with his finger and thumb.

that a *ſlave's death may be occaſioned* by ſevere puniſhment. Dr. Jackſon thinks alſo ſevere whippings are ſometimes the occaſion of their death. He recollects *a negro dying under the laſh or ſoon afterwards*; and Captain Roſs avers, that *they often die* in a few days after their ſevere puniſhments, for having but little food, and little care being taken to keep the ſores clean after the whipping, their death is often the conſequence.

Having now collected what is ſaid on the puniſhments by the whip and cow-ſkin, it will be proper to mention thoſe other modes with which the evidence preſents us. Theſe, however, are not eaſily ſubject to a diviſion from the great variety of their kinds.

1. Captain Cook, ſpeaking of the towns, ſays, he has been ſhocked to ſee a girl of ſixteen or ſeventeen, a domeſtick ſlave, running in the ſtreets on her ordinary buſineſs *with an iron collar*, having *two hooks projecting ſeveral inches both before and behind.*

Captain Roſs, ſpeaking of the country, has known ſlaves ſeverely puniſhed, then *put into the ſtocks, a cattle chain* of ſixty or ſeventy pounds weight put on them, and a *large collar* about their necks, and a weight of fifty-ſix pounds faſtened to the chain when they were drove a-field.

Mr. Cook ſtates that, when runaways are brought in, they are generally ſeverely flogged, and ſometimes have an *iron boot* put on one or both legs, and *a chain or collar* round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar faſtened on *by a rivet.* When the collar is with *three projections*, it is *impoſſible for them to lie down to ſleep: even with two, they muſt lie uneaſily.* He has ſeen collars *with four projections.* He never knew any injury from the chain and collar, but ſeverely galling their necks. He has, however, known a negro *loſe his leg from wearing the iron boot.*

2. Mr. Dalrymple, in June 1789, ſaw a negroeſs brought to St. George's, Grenada, to have her fingers cut off. She had committed a fault, and ran away to avoid puniſhment; but being taken, her maſter *ſuſpended her by the hands*, flogged and cut her cruelly on the back, belly, breaſt, and thighs, and then *left her ſuſpended till her fingers mortified.* In this ſtate Mr. Dalrymple ſaw her at Dr. Gilpin's houſe.

3. Captain Roſs has ſeen a negro woman, in Jamaica, flogged *with ebony buſhes* (much worſe than our own thorn-buſhes) ſo that the *ſkin of her back was taken off, down to her heels.* She was then turned round and flogged *from her breaſt down*

to her waiſt, and in conſequence he ſaw her afterwards *walking upon all fours*, and unable to get up.

4. Captain Cook being on a viſit to General Frere at an eſtate of his in Barbadoes, and riding one morning with the General and two other officers, they ſaw near a houſe, upon a dunghill, a naked negro *nearly ſuſpended, by ſtrings from his elbows backwards, to the bough of a tree, with his feet barely upon the ground, and an iron weight round his neck*, at leaſt, to appearance of 14lb. weight: and thus *without one creature near him*, or apparently near the houſe, was this wretch left, expoſed to the noon-day ſun. Returning *a few hours after, they found him ſtill in the ſame ſtate*, and would have releaſed him, but for the advice of General Frere, who had an eſtate in the neighbourhood. The gentlemen, through diſguſt, ſhortened their viſit, and returned the next morning.

5. Lieutenant Daviſon and Mr. Woolrich mention the *thumb-ſcrew*, and Mr. Woolrich, Captain Roſs, Mr. Clappeſon, and Dr. Harriſon, mention the *picket*, as inſtruments of puniſhment. A negro man, in Jamaica, ſays Dr. Harriſon, was put on the *picket* ſo long as *to cauſe a mortification of his foot and hand*, on ſuſpicion of robbing his maſter, a publick officer, of a ſum of money, which it afterwards appeared, *the maſter had taken himſelf*. Yet the maſter was privy to the puniſhment, and the ſlave had no compenſation. He was puniſhed *by order of the maſter, who did not then chuſe to make it known that he himſelf had made uſe of the money*.

6. Jeffreys, Captain Roſs, M. Terry, and Coor, mention the *cutting off of ears*, as another ſpecies of puniſhment. The laſt gentleman gives the following inſtance in Jamaica. One of the houſe-girls *having broken a plate, or ſpilt a cup of tea*, the doctor, (with whom Mr. Coor boarded) *nailed her ear to a poſt*. Mr. Coor remonſtrated with him in vain. They went to bed, and left her there. In the morning ſhe was gone, *having torn the head of the nail through her ear*. She was ſoon brought back, and when Mr. Coor came to breakfaſt, he found ſhe had been ſeverely whipped by the doctor, who in his fury, *clipped both her ears off cloſe to her head*, with a pair of large ſciſſars, and ſhe was ſent to pick ſeeds out of cotton, among three or four more, emaciated by his cruelties, until they were fit for nothing elſe.

7. Mr. M. Cook, while in Jamaica, knew a runaway ſlave brought in, with part of a turkey with him, which he had ſtolen, and which, Mr. Cook thinks, *he had ſtolen from hunger, as he was nothing but ſkin and bone*. His maſter immediately made two negroes hold him down, and with a hammer

and a punch, *knocked out two of his upper, and two of his under teeth.*

Mr. Dalrymple was informed by a young woman ſlave, in Grenada, who had no teeth, that her miſtreſs had, with her own hands, *pulled them out*, and given her a ſevere flogging beſides, the marks of which ſhe then bore. This relation was confirmed by ſeveral town's people of whom he inquired concerning it.

8. Mr. Jeffereys has ſeen ſlaves with one of their *hands off* which he underſtood to *have been cut off for lifting it up againſt a white man.* Captain Lloyd alſo ſaw at Mrs. Winne's at Mammee Bay in Jamaica, a female ſlave, with but one hand only, the other having been cut off for the ſame offence. Mrs. Winne had endeavoured to prevent the amputation, but in vain, for her indented white woman could not be diſſuaded from ſwearing that the ſlave had ſtruck her, and *the hand was accordingly cut off.*

9. Captain Giles, Doctor Jackſon, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and Mr. M. Terry, have ſeen negroes whoſe *legs had been cut off, by their maſter's orders*, for *running away*, and Mr. Dalrymple gives the following account: A French planter, ſays he, in the Engliſh iſland of Grenada, ſent for a ſurgeon to cut off the leg of a negro who had run away. On the ſurgeon's refuſing to do it, the planter *took an iron bar*, and *broke the leg in pieces*, and then the ſurgeon *cut it off.* This planter did many ſuch acts of cruelty, and all with impunity.

10. Mr. Fitzmaurice mentions, among other inſtances of cruelty, that of dropping hot lead upon negroes, which he often ſaw practiſed by a planter of the name of Ruſhie, during his reſidence in Jamaica.

11. Mr. Hercules Roſs, hearing one day, in Jamaica, from an incloſure, the cries of ſome poor wretch under torture, he looked through, and ſaw a young female *ſuſpended by the wriſts to a tree, ſwinging to and fro.* Her toes could barely touch the ground, and her body was exceedingly agitated. The ſight rather confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the maſter was juſt by ſeemingly motionleſs; but, on looking more attentively, he ſaw in his hand *a ſtick of fire*, which *he held ſo* as occaſionally to touch her about her private parts as ſhe ſwung. He continued *this torture* with unmoved countenance, until Mr. H. Roſs, calling on him to deſiſt, and throwing ſtones at him over the fence, ſtopped it.

12. Mr. Fitzmaurice once found Ruſhie, the Jamaica planter before mentioned, *in the act of hanging a negro.* Mr. Fitzmaurice begged leave to intercede, as he was doing an

action that, in a few minutes, he would repent of. Ruſhie, upon this, being a paſſionate man, ordered him off his eſtate. Mr. Fitzmaurice accordingly went, but returned early the next morning, before Ruſhie was up, and going into the curing-houſe, beheld the ſame negro *lying dead upon a board.* It was notorious that Ruſhie *had killed many* of his negroes, and deſtroyed them ſo faſt, that he was obliged to ſell his eſtate.—Captain Roſs ſays alſo, that there was a certain planter in the ſame iſland, who *had hanged a negro on a poſt, cloſe to his houſe*, and in three years deſtroyed forty negroes, out of ſixty, by ſeverity. * The reſt of the conduct of this planter, as deſcribed by Captain Roſs, was, after a debate, cancelled by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons who took the evidence, as containing circumſtances too horrible to be given to the world: and therefore the reader will find their places ſupplied by aſteriſks, in the evidence at large.

13. On Shrewſbury eſtate, in Jamaica, ſays Mr. Coor, the overſeer ſent for a ſlave, and in talking with him, he haſtily *ſtruck him on the head, with a ſmall hanger, and gave him two ſlabs about the waiſt.* The ſlave ſaid, "Overſeer, you have killed me." He puſhed him out of the piazza. The ſlave went home, and died that night. He was buried, and no more ſaid about it.—A manager of an eſtate, ſays Mr. Woolrich, in Tortola, whoſe owner did not reſide on the iſland, ſitting at dinner, in a ſudden reſentment at his cook, went directly to his ſword, and *ran the negro woman through the body, and ſhe died upon the floor immediately*, and the negroes were called in to take her away and bury her.

14. Mr. Giles recollects ſeveral ſhocking inſtances of puniſhment. In particular, on the eſtate where he lived, in Montſerrat, the driver at day-break once informed the overſeer, that one of the four or five negroes, chained in the dungeon, would not riſe. He accompanied the overſeer to the dungeon, who ſet the others to drag him out, and not riſing when out, he ordered *a bundle of cane traſh to be put round him, and ſet fire to.* As he ſtill did not riſe, he had a ſmall *ſoldering iron heated, and thruſt between his teeth.* As the man did not yet riſe, he had the chain taken off, and ſent him to the hoſpital, where he *languiſhed* ſome days and *died.*

15. An overſeer, on the eſtate where Mr. J. Terry was in Grenada, (Mr. Coghlan) threw a ſlave into *the boiling cane-juice*, who *died in four days.* Mr. J. Terry was told of this

* It is not improbable, but that Captain Roſs, and Mr. Fitzmaurice, allude to the ſame perſon.

by the owner's ſon, by the carpenter, and by many ſlaves on the eſtate. He has heard it often.

16. Mr. Woolrich ſays, a negro ran away from a planter in Tortola, with whom he was well acquainted. The overſeer having orders *to take him dead or alive*, a while after found him in one of his huts, faſt aſleep, in the day-time, *and ſhot him through the body*. The negro jumping up, ſaid, "What, you kill me aſleep;" and dropped dead immediately. The overſeer *took off his head*, and carried it to the owner. Mr. Woolrich knew another inſtance in the ſame iſland. A planter, offended with his waiting man, a mulatto, ſtepped ſuddenly to *his gun*, on which the man ran off, but his maſter *ſhot him through the head with a ſingle ball.*

From the above accounts, there are no leſs than *ſixteen* ſorts of extraordinary puniſhments, which the imagination has invented in the moments of paſſion and caprice. It is much to be lamented, that there are others in the evidence not yet mentioned. But as it is neceſſary to inſert a new head, under which will be explained the concern which *the very* * *women take*, both in the ordinary and extraordinary puniſhments of the ſlaves, and as ſome of the latter not yet mentioned are inſeparably connected with it, it was thought proper to cite them under this new diviſion rather than continue them under the old.

It will appear extraordinary to the reader, that many women, living in the colonies, ſhould not only *order*, and often *ſuperintend*, but ſometimes actually *inflict with their own hands* ſome ſevere puniſhments upon their ſlaves, and that theſe ſhould not always be women of a low order, but *frequently of reſpectability and rank.*

In the inſtance of whipping, mentioned by General Tottenham, (p. 62.) we find the order for it given by the *wife* of a planter, whom the General was viſiting, though the huſband had declined it on his part. *A lady* is repreſented by Mr. Cook as having her domeſtics flogged every Monday morning. Capt. Cook repreſents a woman *of reſpectable condition* as ſending her ſervant to be flogged *for a miſtake only*. Lieutenant Daviſon has often known the miſtreſs ſend her domeſtics to be puniſhed, *and without telling them for what*. He has ſeen a ſlave alſo, both *whoſe noſtrils had been ſlit* by *her miſtreſs's*

* The Editor feels a reluctance in mentioning women on this occaſion, but when he conſiders how much the explanation of their conduct will ſhew the iniquity of the ſyſtem of ſlavery, and its baneful influence on thoſe moſt diſpoſed to benevolence and compaſſion, he feels it a duty to proceed in the narration without any farther apology.

order, who was of *some consequence*, being the wife of the Chief Engineer of the island, and he also remembers a new negro girl, flogged by *the order of her* mistress, who *died* in two days afterwards of her wounds.

Lieutenant Davison, Captain Smith, and Dr. Jackson, all agree, that it *was common for ladies of respectability and rank to superintend the punishments of their slaves.* Conformably with this, we find Dr. Harrison stating to the Committee, that a negro, in Jamaica, was flogged to death by her mistress's order, who stood by to see the punishment. Lieutenant Davison also states, that in the same island, he has seen several negro girls at work with the needle, in the presence of their mistresses, with a thumb-screw on their left thumbs, and he has seen the blood gush out from the ends of them. He has also seen a negro girl made to kneel with her bare knees on pebbles, and to work there at the same time; a sort of punishment, he says, among the domestics, which he knows to be in common use.

On the subject of women becoming the executioners of their own fury, Doctor Jackson observes, that the first thing that shocked him in Jamaica, was a creole lady, of *some consequence, superintending the punishment of her slaves, male and female, ordering the number of lashes, and, with her own hands, flogging the negro driver, if he did not punish properly.*

Capt. Cook relates, that two young ladies of fortune, in Barbadoes, sisters, one of whom was displeased at the pregnancy of a female slave belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon attending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory acts of cruelty. *With their own garters they tied* the young woman neck and heels, and then *beat her* almost to death with the heels of their shoes. One of her eyes continued a long while afterwards in danger of being lost. They after this continued to use her ill, confining and degrading her. Captain Cook came in during the beating, and was an eye witness to it himself.

Captain Cook states farther, that he saw a woman, named Rachel Lauder, beat a female slave most unmercifully. Having *bruised her head almost to a jelly*, with the heel of her shoe, she threw her with great force on the seat of the child's necessary, and *then tried to stamp her head through the hole*, and would have murdered her, if not prevented by two officers. The girl's crime was the not bringing money enough from on board ship, where she was sent by her mistress, *for the purpose of prostitution.*

Lieutenant Daviſon ſtates, in his evidence, that the clergyman's wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She uſed to drop *hot ſealing wax* on her negroes, after flogging them. He was ſent as ſurgeon to one of them, whoſe breaſt was terribly burnt with ſealing wax. He was alſo once called in to a woman ſlave, who had been *tied up all night* by her hands, and had been *abuſed with cayenne pepper, by the ſame miſtreſs*, and in a way too horrid and indecent to mention. He lived next door, he ſtates alſo, to a waſher-woman at Port Royal, who was almoſt continually flogging her negroes. He has often gone in and remonſtrated againſt her cruelty, when he has ſeen the negro women *chained to the waſhing tubs, almoſt naked with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood, from flogging.* He could mention various other capricious puniſhments, if neceſſary.

Mr. Forſter, examined on the ſame ſubject, ſays, he has known a creole woman, in Antigua, drop *hot ſealing wax* on a girl's back, after a flogging. He and many others ſaw a young woman of fortune and character flogging a negro man very ſeverely *with her own hands.* Many ſimilar inſtances he could relate if neceſſary. *They are almoſt innumerable among the domeſtick ſlaves.*

If it ſhould be aſked for what offences the different puniſhments now cited have taken place, the following anſwer may be given.

The ſlaves appear to have been puniſhed, as far as can be aſcertained from the evidence under the head of ordinary puniſhments, for not coming into the field *in time*, not picking *a ſufficient quantity of graſs*, not appearing willing to work, when in fact *ſick and not able*, for ſtaying *too long* on an errand, for not coming *immediately when* called, for not bringing home (the women) *the full weekly ſum* enjoined by their owners, for *running away*, and for *theft*, to which they were *often* driven by *hunger.*

Under the head of "extraordinary puniſhments," ſome appear to have ſuffered for *running away* or for lifting up a hand againſt *a white man*, or for *breaking a plate* or *ſpilling a cup of tea*, or to *extort confeſſion.* Others again in the *moments* of *ſudden reſentment*, and one on a diabolical pretext, which the maſter held out to the world *to conceal his own villany, and which he knew to be falſe.*

Under the head of "the part which the very women take in theſe puniſhments," a female ſlave is puniſhed for *being found pregnant;* another for not bringing home the *full wages of proſtitution;* another *for jealouſy* on the part of her miſ-

treſs; others again from an *opinion* that ſlaves could not be managed without ſeverity; and others in the moments of paſſion, *without even the allegation of a fault.* In ſhort, it appears that they are often puniſhed as caprice and paſſion dictates, and to ſuch lengths do people go, whoſe minds are depraved by the exerciſe of unlimited power, that we find an inſtance in the evidence related by Dr. Harriſon, (who knows alſo others of the kind) of a man buying a negro, who belonged to another man, but who mimicked him, for the purpoſe *of gratifying his revenge.* After having bought him, he ordered him to be puniſhed, and the conſequence was, that *the ſlave cut his own throat.*

On the ſubject of capital offences and puniſhments, a man and a woman ſlave are mentioned to have been hanged, the man for * running away, and the woman for having ſecreted him. The Dean of Middleham ſaw two inſtances of ſlaves being gibbetted alive in chains, but he does not ſay for what, only that this is the puniſhment for enormous crimes: and Mr. Jeffreys, the only other perſon who ſpeaks on this ſubject, ſays, that he was in one of the iſlands, when ſome of the ſlaves murdered a white man, and deſtroyed ſome property on the eſtate. The execution of theſe he deſcribes as follows:

He was preſent, he ſays, at the execution of ſeven negroes in Tobago, in the year 1774, whoſe right arms were chopped off: they were then dragged to ſeven ſtakes, and a fire, conſiſting of traſh and dry wood, was lighted about them. They were there burnt to death. He does not remember hearing one of them murmur, complain, cry, or do any thing that indicated fear. One of them in particular, named Chubb, was taken in the woods that morning, was tried about noon, and was thus executed with the reſt in the evening. Mr. Jeffreys ſtood cloſe by Chubb, when his arm was cut off. He ſtretched his arm out, and laid it upon the block, pulled up the ſleeve of his ſhirt, with more coolneſs than he, (Mr. Jefferys) ſhould have done, if he had been to be let blood. He afterwards would not ſuffer himſelf to be dragged to the ſtake, as the others had been, but got upon his feet, and walked to it. As he was going to the ſtake he turned about, and addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Jeffreys, who was ſtanding within two or three yards of him, and ſaid, "Buckra, you ſee me now, but to-morrow "I ſhall be like that," kicking up the duſt with his foot. (Here Mr. Jeffreys ſolemnly added in his evidence the words "So help me God.") The impreſſion this made upon his mind, Mr. Jeffreys declared, no time ever could eraſe. Samp-

* Slaves running away are puniſhed variouſly, but on abſenting themſelves for a certain time, they may be puniſhed with death.

ſon, who made the eight, and a negro, whoſe name Mr. Jeffreys does not recollect, was preſent at this execution. Sampſon, next morning, was hung in chains alive, and there he hung till he was dead, which to the beſt of his recollection, was ſeven days. The other negro was ſentenced to be ſent to the mines in South America, and he believes, was ſent accordingly. Neither of thoſe two, during the time of the execution, ſhewed any marks of concern or diſmay that he could obſerve. A ſtronger inſtance of human fortitude, he declared, he never ſaw.

Having now ſtated the ſubſtance of the evidence on the ſubject of offences and puniſhments, we come to a cuſtom which appears too general to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Dalrymple, Forſter, Captain Smith, Captain Wilſon, and General Tottenham, aſſert that *it is no uncommon thing* for perſons to *neglect and turn off* their ſlaves when paſt labour. They *are turned off*, ſay Captain Wilſon, Lieutenant Daviſon, and General Tottenham, *to plunder*, *beg*, or *ſtarve*. Capt. Cook has known ſome take care of them; but ſays, others leave them *to ſtarve and die*. They are often deſired when old, ſays Mr. Fitzmaurice, *to provide for themſelves*, and they ſuffer much. Mr. Clappeſon knew a man who had an old, decrepid woman ſlave, to whom *he would allow nothing*. When paſt labour, the owner *did not feed them*, ſays Giles; and Cook ſtates that, within his experience, they had no food *but what they could get* from ſuch relations as they might have had. This is the account given by the different witneſſes; and accordingly we find ſome of the ſuperanuated ſlaves on the different eſtates, *who wanted every thing* (Harriſon); others *begging* (Rees); others *digging in the dunghill for food*, (Dalrymple); and others lying, miſerable objects, about the *wharfs and beaches*, and in the *roads and ſtreets* (Jeffreys, J. Woodward, and Cook). General Tottenham has often met them, and, once in particular, an old woman, paſt labour, who told him that her maſter had *ſet her adrift to ſhift for herſelf*. He ſaw her about three days afterwards, *lying dead* in the ſame place. This cuſtom of turning them off when old and helpleſs is called in the iſlands (Captain Wilſon and Captain Lloyd) "Giving them free."

As a proof *how little the life of an old ſlave is regarded* in the Weſt Indies, we may make the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Coor. Once when he was dining with an overſeer, an old woman who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner, the overſeer, with the clerk, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot-houſe, a place for the ſick, and where

the ſtocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill, about one hundred yards off, and hearing a moſt diſtreſsful cry from that houſe, he aſked his men, who and what it was. They ſaid they thought it was old Quaſheba. About five o'clock the noiſe ceaſed, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great ſpirits, and ſaid, " Well, Mr. Coor, Old Quaſheba is dead. We took her to the ſtocks-room; the overſeer threw a rope over the beam; I was Jack Ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet were off the ground. The overſeer locked the door, and took the key with him, till my return juſt now, with a ſlave for the ſtocks, when I found her dead." Mr. Coor ſaid, " You have killed her, I heard her cry all the afternoon." He anſwered, " *D—n her for an old b—h, ſhe was good for nothing; what ſignifies killing ſuch an old woman as her.*" Mr. Coor ſaid, " Bakewell, you ſhock me," and left him. The next morning his men told him, they had helped to bury her.

But it appears that the aged are not the only perſons whoſe fate is to be commiſerated, when they become of no value; for people in youth, if diſabled, are abandoned to equal miſery. General Tottenham, about three weeks before the hurricane, ſaw a youth, about nineteen walking in the ſtreets, in a moſt deplorable ſituation, *entirely naked*, and *with an iron collar about his neck, with five long projecting ſpikes. His body, before and behind, his breech, belly, and thighs, were almoſt cut to pieces, and with running ſores all over them, and you might put your finger in ſome of the wheals. He could not ſit down, owing to his breech being in a ſtate of mortification, and it was impoſſible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs.* The boy came to the General and aſked relief. He was *ſhocked at his appearance*, and aſked him *what he had done to ſuffer ſuch a puniſhment*, and who inflicted it. He ſaid it was his maſter, who lived about two miles from town, *and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.*

If it be poſſible to view human depravity in a worſe light than it has already appeared in on the ſubject of the treatment of the ſlaves when diſabled from labour, it may be done by referring to the evidence of Capt. Lloyd, who was told by a perſon of veracity, when in the Weſt Indies, but whom he did not wiſh to name in his evidence, that it was the practice of a certain planter to " frame pretences for the execution of " his old worn out ſlaves, in order get the * iſland allowance. And it was ſuppoſed that he dealt largely in that way.

* The iſland allowance in Jamaica to the maſter is 40l. currency for any one of his ſlaves if executed for a breach of the laws.

Having now cited both the ordinary and extraordinary puniſhments inflicted upon the ſlaves, it may be preſumed that ſome one will aſk here, whether, under theſe various acts of cruelty, they are wholly without redreſs? To this the following anſwer may be given—That, with reſpect to the ordinary puniſhments, by the whip and cow-ſkin (where they do not terminate in death) the power of the maſter or overſeer is under little or no controul.

Firſt, Becauſe, as we have already ſeen, they can order or inflict puniſhment for any, even imaginary, offences.

Secondly, Becauſe the law of thirty-nine laſhes (the greateſt number allowed to be given to a ſlave, at any one time) is a mere farce, and never attended to by maſters or owners, if they ſhould think it proper to inflict more; for, Woolrich ſays, that the chief whipper lays on their back *forty*, *fifty*, *ſixty*, or more laſhes, *at the pleaſure of the owner or overſeer*. Captain Roſs has known negroes receive *two hundred* laſhes where the law would give only *thirty-nine*. Mr. Cook has known a field ſlave receive *two hundred* laſhes *by order of the overſeer*, and a domeſtick *fifty*, by order of *his miſtreſs*. Mr. M. Terry alſo obſerves, that the law was reſtricted to *thirty-nine*, but it was not *in the leaſt* attended to during his experience. He has, in ſhort, *ſeen it broken repeatedly*. This ſame language is alſo ſpoken by others.

Thirdly, Becauſe, if there ſhould be ſome, who bear the law in their minds, at the time of puniſhing, *they* evade it by various means. Whipping, ſays Mr. Fitzmaurice, was underſtood to be limited to *thirty-nine* laſhes; but it was often evaded, *by putting the negroe into the ſtocks, and giving him thirty-nine for the ſame offence, next day*. We find alſo, by Captain Roſs's account, *a magiſtrate*, and of courſe, *a guardian of the laws*, evading it in like manner, for that gentleman has ſeen John Sackle, Eſq; a magiſtrate in Jamaica, "flogging a negro three times in one day, namely at breakfaſt, dinner, and at ſix in the evening: but the negro was "in the ſtocks between the floggings." Captain Cook alſo expreſsly ſays, that the law may be evaded *by ſplitting a crime into many*, and, by intervals, *dividing the times of puniſhment*, and of this, where ſlaves are puniſhed at home, he ſays there are *daily inſtances*. Returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regt. they heard moſt dreadful cries, and, on approaching the ſquare at Bridge-town, found they proceeded from the houſe of a man that ſold liquor, and heard the repeated laſhes of a whip, on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requeſting admiſſion, the cruel-

ty ſeemed to be wantonly increaſed, which ſo provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about nineteen chained to the floor, almoſt expiring with agogony and loſs of blood. The man taking refuge behind his counter from their indignation, and thinking himſelf free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her *thirty-nine laſhes at one time*, and that only three times ſince the beginning of the night. He then *threatened them* for breaking his door, and " interfering be-
" tween him and his ſlave," whom he " would flog to death
" for all any one," and he would give her the fourth *thirty-nine* laſhes before morning, which muſt have killed her, as ſhe ſeemed then to be dying. In ſhort, to uſe the language of the different evidences, it appears that the ſlaves have no legal redreſs, in the caſe alluded to, againſt their maſters and miſtreſſes, the latter of whom, even when they become the executioners on ſuch occaſions, are " not received for it the worſe
" in ſocicty." Perhaps, ſays Dr. Jackſon, " ſuch a one might
" be called a termagant, but ſhe was not the leſs reſpected.
" It was indeed thought neceſſary for an induſtrious wife to
" be rigid in the puniſhment of her ſlaves." It is impoſſible to omit mentioning here that Lieutenant Daviſon was ſo hurt at the ſevere and frequent whippings of one of theſe women, that he complained to a magiſtrate, who ſaid *he had nothing to do with it.*

With reſpect to the overſeer, whom we have ſeen alſo exerciſing a diſcretionary power, he is certainly ſubject to the controul of the maſter, if he reſides, and in caſe of his non-reſidence, to that of the attorney of the eſtate: but then, ſays J. Terry, the ſlaves, if ſeverely puniſhed for trifling faults, *dare not* complain of him to the maſter for fear of worſe treatment. J. Terry has known them *puniſhed by their maſter* for ſo doing, and ſent back to the plantation, though their complaints were juſt. Mr. Cook has alſo known ſlaves " puniſhed for complaining to the maſter," and, in his abſence, to " the attorney againſt the overſeer," for ill uſage. If again, ſays Coor, the ſlaves complain to the attorney, and the attorney liſtens, the overſeer ſays he will *leave the eſtate.* He has alſo ſeen the attorney wink at the oppreſſion of the ſlaves, becauſe he has a *per centage* on the crop, and the more the overſeer puſhes them, the more the attorney gains. The *ſame per centage* on the crop is acknowledged alſo by Lieut. Daviſon. Captain Roſs nevertheleſs ſtates that overſeers are often turned away for ſevere whippings, but he is the only one of the evidences who ſays ſo, and it appears that there

muſt be frequently great obſtacles to this; for it is obſerved by Daviſon, Fitzmaurice, and Cook, that ſome attornies live "thirty, forty, *or* fifty miles from the eſtate," and of courſe that the ſlaves * "cannot go to complain," and that the ſame three gentlemen, together with Coor, J. Terry, and Duncan, ſtate that on ſome eſtates one perſon holds the office of attorney and overſeer *at the ſame time*, where his power is of courſe under no controul.

As to ſuch of the extraordinary puniſhments before mentioned, as did not terminate in death, ſuch as picketing, dropping hot ſealing-wax on the fleſh, cutting off ears and the like, it appears that ſlaves had no redreſs whatever, for that theſe actions alſo on the part of the maſters were not deemed within the reach of the law. In the inſtance cited of the Doctor clipping off the ears of a female ſlave, "no more notice was taken of it, ſays Coor, than if a dog's ears had been cut off," though it muſt "have been known to the magiſtrates." In the dreadful inſtance alſo cited of a planter's breaking his ſlave's leg by an iron bar, to induce the ſurgeon to cut it off, as a puniſhment, Mr. Dalrymple obſerves that it was not the publick opinion, "that any puniſhment was due to him on that account," for though it was "generally known, *he was* equally well received in ſociety afterwards "as before;" and in the caſe alſo mentioned of the owner torturing his female ſlave by the application of a lighted torch to her body, Mr. H. Roſs ſtates, only that this owner was not a man of character: with reſpect to his ſuffering by the law, he obſerves that he was "never brought to any trial for it;" and he did not know that the law then "extended to the puniſhment of whites for ſuch acts as theſe."

With reſpect to ſuch of the puniſhments as have terminated in death, the reader will be able to collect, what power the maſters and overſeers, and what protection the ſlaves had by the law, from the following accounts.

There are no leſs then *ſeven ſpecifick inſtances* mentioned in the evidence, in which ſlaves died in conſequence of the whipping they received, and yet "in no one of them was the murderer brought to an account." One of the perpetrators is mentioned by Mr. Dalrymple as having *boaſted* of what he had done; and Dr. Jackſon ſpeaks of the other in theſe words. "No attempts, ſays he, were made to bring him to juſtice: "people ſaid it was an unfortunate thing, and were ſurpriſed "he was not more cautious, as it was not the firſt thing of

* If a ſlave ſhould be ſeen any day except Sunday wandering about, and even then without a ticket, he would be taken up, put into goal, and advertiſed as a runaway.

" the kind that had happened to him, but they dwelt chiefly " on the proprietor's loſs."

In ſuch of the extraordinary puniſhments, as terminated in death, there are no leſs than *ſeven ſpecifick inſtances* alſo in the evidence. In one of them, viz. that of throwing the ſlave into the boiling cane-juice, we find from Mr. J. Terry, the overſeer puniſhed, but his puniſhment conſiſted only of " replacing " the ſlave and leaving his owner's ſervice." In that of killing the ſlave by lighting a fire round him putting a hot ſoldering iron into his mouth, the overſeer's conduct, ſays Mr. Giles, was *not even condemned* by his maſter, nor in any of the reſt were any means whatſoever uſed to puniſh the offenders. In the three mentioned by Mr. Woolrich, he particularly ſays, " all the white people in the iſland were acquainted with theſe " facts. Neither of the offenders, however, were called to an " account, nor were they ſhunned in ſociety for it, or conſi- " dered as in diſgrace."

In going over the evidence we find three or four other inſtances, not yet cited in this chapter. The firſt is that of an huckſter in Antigua, who murdered his woman ſlave with circumſtances " of the moſt atrocious barbarity." This man however was tried, convicted, and——fined. He is repreſented by Mr. Forſter, as having been univerſally blamed, but he " was dealt with as uſual in the courſe of trade."

At Grenada in the town of St. George, a maſon named Chambers, killed a negro in the middle of the day, and Mr. Dalrymple believes in the church-yard, *but no notice was taken of it.*

Two ſlaves, ſays Captain Cook, were murdered and thrown into the road during his reſidence in Barbadoes: *yet no legal inquiry ever took place that he heard of.*

He was repeatedly informed by the inhabitants that they did not chuſe to make examples of white men there, fearing it might be attended with dangerous conſequences.

Going over the evidence we come at laſt to an inſtance (and *the only inſtance of the kind* mentioned) of a white man being hanged for the murder of another's ſlave: and it is very remarkable, that he ſhould be repreſented as having been hanged more becauſe he was *an obnoxious man*, than that the murder of a ſlave was conſidered as a crime: for Mr. Dalrymple ſtates that the Chief Juſtice of the Iſland (Grenada) told him, he believed if this murderer, whoſe name was Bacchus Preſton, had been a man of good character, or had had friends or money to *have paid for the ſlave*, he would *not* have been brought to trial. He was of a *very bad character* and had been obliged to leave Barbadoes *upon that account.* At Gre-

nada he had been a *Bailiff's follower*, and, from *his rigour* in executing his office and *bad character*, he was *particularly obnoxious to the inhabitants of the town of St. George.*

Such appears to have been, in the experience of the different evidences cited, the forlorn and wretched ſituation of the ſlaves. They often complain, ſays Dr. Jackſon, that they are an oppreſſed people: that *they ſuffer in this world, but expect happineſs in the next;* whilſt they denounce the "vengeance "of God on the white men their oppreſſors:" if you ſpeak to them of future puniſhments they ſay, "Why ſhould a poor "negro be puniſhed; he does no wrong; fiery cauldrons," and ſuch things, are reſerved "for white people, as puniſhments "for the oppreſſion of ſlaves."

If it ſhould be aſked here, whether ſome new laws have not lately paſſed the legiſlature of ſome of the iſlands with a view of amending the ſituation of the ſlaves, it muſt be anſwered in the affirmative. The firſt is the celebrated conſolidated act of Jamaica, and the other is an act of the aſſembly of Grenada, entitled "an act for the better protection and promoting the increaſe and population of ſlaves." Theſe acts, however, the evidence obliges us to obſerve, "never originated in any intention to ſerve the ſlaves, and are in reality of little or no uſe.

Captain Giles, who was in Jamaica both before and ſince the paſſing of the conſolidated act, gives his evidence without any diſtinction of this epoch, and "as if no difference had "happened" in the treatment of the ſlaves.

Mr Cook, long reſident alſo in the ſame iſland, and ſince the paſſing of the act, knows of "no legal protection that "ſlaves have againſt injuries from their maſters."

Mr. Clappeſon, examined expreſsly on the ſubject, ſays that he was in Jamaica when the aſſembly paſſed the conſolidated law. He has often heard it was paſſed becauſe of "the ſtir "in England about the ſlave-trade." He never heard that *any regard* was paid to it, ſlaves being "ſtill treated as before:" nor did he ever hear of any proſecution *for ſuch diſregard.* He recollects an inſtance of diſregard to it, which came under his eye. The owner of an old and decrepid female ſlave would allow her neither victuals nor clothing; upon which he adviſed a ſon of the woman to complain to a magiſtrate, who would perhaps order her to be taken care of, if he regarded the law; but he believes "he was deterred from fear of puniſhment," as that owner treated his ſlaves very harſhly in general.

With reſpect to the other act, namely that paſſed in Grenada, Mr. J. Terry ſays, that the opinion there upon paſſing it was, that "it never would have the intended effect." He

did not obſerve it make *any difference*, except in *the half days* in the week. The clergyman of the pariſh where he reſided, never performed the duty *the act impoſed* on them, and he never heard of *any complaints* againſt them for the *non-performance* of it.

Mr. Dalrymple ſtates he was in Grenada, in 1788, when the act was paſſed. The principal objection, and which he repeatedly heard, to its paſſing was, that it might make the ſlaves believe, "that the authority of their maſters was leſſened:" but otherwiſe, many thought it would be of *little uſe*, as it was a law "made by themſelves againſt themſelves, and to be executed by themſelves:" they obſerved beſides, that ſuch laws were unneceſſary for the protection of negroes who were treated well; and that others had "ſo many opportunities of evading the law (the evidence of negroes not "being admitted") that it would be of *no uſe*. At the time of paſſing the ſaid act, the propoſal in the Britiſh Parliament for the abolition of the ſlave-trade was a matter of general diſcuſſion in the iſland: and he believes "was a principal reaſon for paſſing it." Mr. Dalrymple believes "it will prove "ineffectual:" becauſe, as "no negro evidence is admitted," thoſe who abuſe them "will ſtill do it with impunity;" and people, who live on terms of intimacy, would diſlike the idea "of becoming ſpies and informers againſt each other."

All the facts having been now cited, and the obſervations made, which it was intended to introduce into this chapter, it may be concluded in the words of the Rev. Mr. Stuart, and General Tottenham.

The former ſays, he is warranted in declaring the negroes an oppreſſed and much injured race, and in no better eſtimation than labouring cattle, and every deſcription of their treatment he has met with "falls ſhort of their real eſtate." He read Mr. Ramſay's Eſſay in manuſcript, at. St. Kitt's, and comparing "it on the ſpot" with the treatment of the ſlaves, he "thought it too favourable."

The latter ſtated to the Committee, that he thought the ſlaves in Barbadoes were treated with the "greateſt barbarity," and that he was *very poſitive* that the impreſſion concerning their treatment was made on his mind "at the time and on "the ſpot," for he repeatedly told the people of Bridge-town, that he hoped to live to ſee the unfortunate ſituation of theſe poor wretches taken up by "ſome member of Parliament," and that ſhould ſuch an event take place, "he ſhould look upon "it as his duty to offer a voluntary declaration of what he "knew of the matter."

CHAP. V.

Whether the Natives of Africa, thus procured, tranſported, and enſlaved, are not equal to the Europeans in Capacity, Feeling, Affection, and Moral Character, and whether if Individuals ſhould be found inferior in Moral Character, it be not owing to their Connection with the latter, or to the Trade in Slaves.

MR. WADSTROM thinks the underſtandings of the natives of Africa *capable of equal improvement with thoſe of the Whites*, and, as a proof, he ſtates ſeveral of the manufactures, which they carry on from the River Senegal to the River Sallum.

The natives, ſays he, are particularly ſkilful in manufacturing *gold* and *iron*. The art of working the former, he believes, they derived from the Moors, but they are now almoſt the ſole artiſts themſelves, having never ſeen but one Moor working in that branch. They are equal to any European goldſmith in filagree or trinket work, and even in other articles, ſuch as buckles, except in the chaſſes, tongues, and anchors, which they do not manufacture ſo well. The iron which they forge is on anvils of a remarkable hard and heavy wood, when they cannot get ſtone for the purpoſe.

They manufacture alſo *cloth* and *leather* with uncommon neatneſs. The former they *dye* alſo blue, yellow, brown, and orange. The cloth is made beſt at Sallum. The latter they tan and work into ſandals, and into a variety of uſeful and ornamental articles.

Beſides the above, they are ſkilful in making *indigo* and *ſoap*. They make alſo *pottery ware*, and prepare *ſalt* for their own uſe from the ſea water.

They make alſo canoes, but as wood of a ſufficient cloſe texture is ſeldom found on the ſea ſhore, they make them principally in the interior parts. Here they ſhape, but do not hollow them. When ſhaped, they are dragged by a number of the natives for weeks together (each village generally undertaking to drag them to the next, and receiving in return partly European merchandiſe, and partly fiſh and ſalt) till they come to the ſea ſhore. The ropes, with which they drag them, are made of a kind of aloe,

growing abundantly in the country, and when well made by the natives, they are exceeding ſtrong and good.

Mr. Wadſtrom offered to produce, if neceſſary, ſpecimens of ſeveral of the above manufactures, which he had brought with him from the coaſt.

Nearly the ſame accounts are given of their manufactures by Dalrymple, Kiernan, and Captain Wilſon: and Hall, Newton, Surgeon Wilſon, Sir George Young, Falconbridge, Captain Thompſon, and Town, (without enumerating many of their manufactures like the former) declare their capacities, either to *be good*, or *equal to thoſe of the Europeans*.

With reſpect to their feeling and affection, one inſtance may be taken from Mr. Falconbridge. Being ſent to chooſe ſome ſlaves out of a yard at Cape Coaſt Caſtle, he objected to one that was meagre, and put him aſide. Mr. Falconbridge obſerving a tear ſteal down the man's cheek, which the man alſo endeavoured to conceal, inquired of him the reaſon,—upon which he ſaid he was going to be parted from his brother.

As a ſecond inſtance, Surgeon Wilſon ſays, that at Bonny, one of the people called Breechies, of the higher claſs, was brought on board. He ſeemed to take his ſituation to heart, and became ill; but from indulgencies, which none of the reſt had, he partly recovered. When he was convaleſcent, a young woman was alſo brought on board, who proved to be his ſiſter. On their firſt meeting, they ſtood in ſilence, and looked at each other apparently with the greateſt affection;—they ruſhed into each others arms—embraced—ſeparated themſelves again,—and again embraced. Surgeon Wilſon perceived the tears to run down the female's cheeks. The man had a return of his former complaint, and his ſiſter attended him with the greateſt care. The firſt thing ſhe did of a morning, was to come to Surgeon Wilſon, and aſk how her bro her did. He at length died—on the news of this, his ſiſter wept bitterly, tore her hair, and ſhewed other ſigns of diſtraction. They carried her ſafe to South America, and there delivered her as a ſlave.

As a third inſtance, that mentioned by J. Parker may be introduced, (page 48.) of the poor woman turning her head on one ſide, when obliged by the whip to drop her dead child over board, and weeping afterwards for many hours.

Mr. Wadſtrom is clearly convinced, that the natives of

Africa actually *ſurpaſs* in affection ſuch of the Europeans as he has known.

On the moral character of the natives, Mr. Wadſtrom ſays, that they are *very honeſt and hoſpitable.* He has often paſſed days and nights alone with them without the leaſt fear, and was treated with all civility and kindneſs.

Captain Wilſon calls them *grateful and affectionate.*— They treated him moſt kindly, he ſays, when many miles up their country, and unprotected, vying with each other in entertaining him, and numbers ſhed tears at his departure.

Captain Thompſon, in ſpeaking of them, calls them *harmleſs and innocent.* Storey, Dalrymple, Howe, Town, and Bowman, join in the epithets of "*Friendly and hoſpitable*;" to which the latter adds, "*juſt and punctual in their dealings*;" and they are deſcribed by Hall to be *as capable of virtue as the whites.*

Such appears to be the moral character of the Africans when they have but little intercourſe with the Europeans, or the trade in ſlaves; but *as they become connected with theſe*, it appears by the evidence, that it *becomes proportionably changed.*

In proof of this, Mr. Newton obſerves, that the natives are often friendly, and may be truſted, where not previouſly deceived *by the Europeans.* He has lived in ſafety among them when the only white man there. *The beſt people he ever met with* were on the River Gaboon and at Cape Loptez. Theſe had then *the leaſt intercourſe with Europe*, and he believes *no trade in ſlaves*, for their trade was *ivory and wax*, and he has heard them ſpeak in emphatic terms *againſt the other.*

Dr. Trotter ſays, they are *ſuſceptible of all the ſocial virtues*, and he has ſeen no bad habits, but among thoſe (one inſtance excepted) who *were engaged in trade with the whites.*

Lieutenant Storey ſays, that they are more honeſt *inland* than *upon the ſhore.*

They are alſo deſcribed by Mr. Town to be in general *hoſpitable and kind*, but to differ as our own people in character. Thoſe who live *inland* are *innocent*: Thoſe on the *coaſt* learn to be *roguiſh*, which he aſcribes *to their intercourſe with the Europeans.*

The ſame accounts are alſo given of them after their arrival in the Weſt Indies. Giles and Woolrich obſerve their intellects *to be good*, and Harriſon, Jackſon, Duncan,

Stuart, Cook, the Dean of Middleham, and Rees, *to be equal to thoſe of the Europeans.* The ſame equality to the whites is mentioned by Harriſon, Cook, Duncan, and Davies, to hold good with reſpect to *their diſpoſitions* alſo. *Generoſity*, *fidelity*, and *gratitude*, are allowed them by Stuart. Theſe virtues Dr Jackſon enumerates, and adds *charity to all in diſtreſs*, and a ſtrong *attachment on the part of the parents to their children.* Baillie inſiſts on the *ſame*, of which he gives ſome inſtances, and Woolrich, after ſtating that he knows *of no exception* to their poſſeſſing *the ſocial affections as ſtrongly as the whites*, ſays, that he never knew an African, who could expreſs himſelf, *but allowed of a Supreme Being.*

To this account may be added the words of Captain Smith, who ſays, he always conſidered them as a keen, ſenſible, well-diſpoſed people, *where their habits were not vitiated by cruel uſage on the part of the Europeans.*

CHAP. VI.

Whether the Natives of Africa have not many and valuable Productions in their own Country, in which they could offer a Trade to the Europeans in the Place of the Trade in Slaves.

AMONG the productions of Africa, mentioned by the different evidences, may be reckoned *millet* of various ſorts, *pulſe*, *Indian corn*, and *rice* *. Of the laſt of theſe articles, it appears to have been proved often by experiment, that it is much *heartier and better than the Carolina.*

In the next claſs may be reckoned *cotton*, *indigo*, *tobacco*, and the *ſugar cane.* Dalrymple ſays of the cotton, that it is eſteemed *far ſuperior to that from the Weſt Indies.* He ſays the *ſame* of the ſugar cane, and as to the indigo, it is conſidered to be *equal to that from Guatimala.*

In the next claſs may be mentioned *black pepper*, the ſame as from the Eaſt Indies, *long pepper*, *Malaguetta*, or *grains of Paradiſe*, *red pepper* of various ſorts, but particularly *the Cayenne*, a ſpecies of *ginger*, *cardamums*, *wild*

* The African rice has a red huſk, but is beautifully white when the huſk is taken off.

nutmegs, and *cinnamon*. Mr How ſays of the cinnamon, that one ſort of it is *not inferior to that imported from the Eaſt Indies*. Some of the former brought to England *fetched a better price than the latter*. He has ſeen the real cinnamon both at Bombay and Cambay, brought there as preſents from Ceylon, and ſays, that the bark, leaves, and whole ſtructure of the tree, *are alike in Africa and the Eaſt Indies*. He has no doubt whatever but that * ſpices in general might be cultivated with great ſucceſs in the African ſoil and climate.

In the fourth claſs it may be mentioned that there are *gums* of various kinds, but particularly the *gum copal*. *Aſſafœtida* alſo is to be found in Africa; and Mr Wadſtrom aſſerts, that the celebrated Dr Spaarman, his fellow-traveller, among nearly three thouſand plants, which he collected there for the cabinet of Natural Hiſtory of the Royal Academy at Stockholm, found *a great part*, if not the whole, of the *Materia Medica*, as well as *drugs for various manufacturing uſes*.

In the fifth claſs may be included woods and roots. Among theſe are mentioned *iron*, *wood*, *bar-wood*, *cam-wood*, *and ebony*: alſo various woods, roots, and vegetables for dying: the root of a plant called Fooden, dyes ſcarlet, and the ſtalks of it a beautiful yellow. There are alſo orange and brown dyes produced from vegetable productions, which grow in ſuch abundance, ſays Mr Wadſtrom, in the dominions of Damél, that his whole army is dreſſed in cloth that is dyed from theſe. The ſame gentleman mentions alſo a kind of bean, in his poſſeſſion, which is alſo uſed in dying, and carried on camels for this purpoſe, in quantities, to Morocco. There are alſo timber trees. Of the latter a ſpecies of the Ticktonia grandis is found in plenty all over the Gold Coaſt. This wood is conſidered as *the beſt in the world* for *ſhip-building*, the worm neither touching, nor the iron corroding it. Sir George Young ſays, in addition to this, that he has found a great deal of fine timber fit for ſhip-building on other parts of the coaſt, and he once ſaw a veſſel actually built of the woods of Sierra Leon. Beſides theſe, it is aſſerted by ſeveral of the evidences, that there are beautiful woods for cabinet-work; and Mr How ſtates, that there are many parts of Africa, where the ſoil is the ſame as that in the Province of Guzzerat in the Eaſt Indies, where he found the real ſandal-wood.

* Captain Thompſon only heard of the wild nutmegs being there, whereas the other articles have been both ſeen and collected.

To

To the productions above may be added, in a ſixth claſs, *wax, honey, palm oil, ivory, and gold;* and in a ſeventh, *plantanes, yams, ſweet potatoes, eddoes, caſſada, cocoa nuts, bananas, pine apples, oranges, limes, wild grapes,* and all other tropical productions.

CHAP. VII.

Whether the Natives of Africa have not a ſufficient ſpirit of Commerce, as well as a ſufficient Portion of Induſtry among them, to embark in a new Trade in the Productions of their own Country; but whether the Slave-trade be not an inſuperable Impediment thereto.

MR WADSTROM obſerves of the natives of Africa, that they have *an extraordinary genius for commerce,* and that their induſtry is in all regards *proportionate to their demands.*

Conſiſtently with this idea, we find ſome of them not only cultivating ſufficient proviſions for themſelves, but an overplus for certain towns, (Kiernan, Wadſtrom, Wilſon, and Howe); others cultivating corn and rice for the ſhipping that come among them, (Kiernan, Falconbridge, Dove, Bowman, Wadſtrom, Hall, Newton); others bringing large bundles of rice on their heads, of forty or fifty pounds weight, from the inland country to the ſea-ſhore, and then travelling back loaded with European goods, (Hall, Storey, Bowman); others going in armed bodies, even a month's journey inland, with various articles for trade, (Storey); others wooding and watering the ſhips, (Falconbridge); and others hiring themſelves out to the Europeans to work at a low price both in boats and on the ſhore, (Newton, Sir George Young, and Thomſon.

In ſhort, ſays Hall, they were never indolent *when they could work to advantage.* They were willing to do any thing, ſays Morley, *for which they had a proſpect of being paid.* They were always induſtrious, ſays Dalrymple, *where there was a demand.* Bowman believes they would have put more land into cultivation than they did when he was there, *had a greater ſupply of rice been wanted* by the ſhipping—they told him that they ſhould like to trade more in their own produce; and Falconbridge is ſo ſure, that, *if properly encouraged,*

raged, they would make any change the Europeans pleaſed, that he is *himſelf going again to Africa* to make the experiment.

Mr Kiernan ſpeaks in the ſame terms. They cultivate, ſays he, *cotton, indigo*, and *tobacco*, but this they do for *themſelves only*; for though they are never backward when encouraged, yet the Europeans have encouraged them only to raiſe proviſions, and *never the other articles*.

It is evident then, from the above accounts, that the *want of encouragement* is at leaſt one reaſon why the natives of Africa do not eſtabliſh a trade in the productions of their own country, as enumerated in the laſt chapter. Now this want of encouragement we trace from Wadſtrom finally to proceed *from the trade in ſlaves*; for ſuch conſtant encouragement, he obſerves, is given by the merchants to the ſlave-trade, and the minds of the natives are in conſequence ſo wholly occupied in it, that little or no encouragement remains for the other,

Sir George Young, and Liutenant Storey, both come to the ſame concluſion; and Lieutenant Simpſon avers, that on repeatedly aſking the black traders what they would do *if the ſlave-trade were aboliſhed?* he was repeatedly anſwered that they would *ſoon find out another trade*.

Mr Wadſtrom alſo mentions *the ſlave-trade* as an *impediment* to a trade in the natural productions of the country, not only becauſe it diminiſhes the encouragement of the latter as juſt explained, but becauſe it ſubjects the natives, who might be willing to follow it, to be made ſlaves; for, as he obſerves, they *dare never go out into the fields unleſs well armed*.

Mr Wadſtrom is ſupported in this ſecond circumſtance as a cauſe by Captain Wilſon, who, in giving a reaſon why the ſlave-trade obſtructs the civilization and commerce of the natives, ſays, they will not for a temporary gratification *riſk the being kidnapped, and carried into perpetual ſlavery*.

That the ſlave-trade then, either by diminiſhing the proper encouragement to the natives, or endangering their perſons, or by doing both, is the real cauſe why they do not or cannot exert their induſtry in cultivating the various articles, which their country has been proved to produce, can be aſcertained from facts; for Mr Dalrymple has remarked, that in thoſe parts of the coaſt where there *is little or no trade for ſlaves*, they are actually *more induſtrious* than in thoſe places where *the trade is carried on*.

Captain

Captain Hall ſays alſo, that he found cultivation in *by far the higheſt ſtate* at the iſland of Fernandipo, ſo that the yams, which were the principal produce there, were made to run up like vines upon ſticks. But here he obſerves, firſt, that the natives had *great encouragement*, for all the ſhips from Calabar, Del Rey, and the Cameroons, ſent their boats there for theſe articles, as to the regular market; and, ſecondly, that they *had no trade in ſlaves.*

Mr Falconbridge alſo has occaſion to obſerve, that at Bonny, the moſt conſiderable place for ſlaves, there was a time in the late war when the ſlave-trade was ſo interrupted, as *to ceaſe* to be carried on, and that on his aſking the black traders what they had done during this interval, they anſwered they had been obliged *to cultivate the earth for their ſupport.*

Mr How adds, that he has been almoſt upon every ſettlement, that belongs to the Engliſh, on the coaſt of Africa, and that he found the culture always in *a higher degree, where there was but little of the ſlave-trade, and juſt the reverſe where the ſlave-trade was carried on more at large.*

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the Slave-Trade be not a Grave for the Seamen employed in it,—and whether a Trade in the Natural Productions of Africa would be the ſame.

THE ſtatements, made by the different evidences of the loſs of ſeamen while on board their reſpective ſhips, unqueſtionably prove the ſlave-trade to be the *grave of our marine:* But as an account has been ſince made for the Houſe of Commons expreſsly upon this point, taking all the ſlave-ſhips promiſcuouſly from the ports of Liverpool and Briſtol for a number of years back, and made up from the muſter-rolls of each ſhip, it will be more proper to quote from ſo general and extenſive an account, than from the teſtimony of a few, even the beſt informed individuals.

ABSTRACT of ſuch of the Muſter-rolls of Liverpool and Briſtol Slave-Ships as were returned into the Cuſtom-Houſes there, from September, 1784, to January 5th, 1790.

PERIODS.	*No. of Veſſels.*	*Original Crews.*	*Died of original Crews.*	*Brought Home of Original Crews.*
From 1784 to 1785, ——	74	2915	615	1279
From 1785 to 1786, ——	62	2163	436	944
From 1786 to 1787, ——	66	2136	433	1073
From 1787 to 1788, ——	68	2422	623	1114
From 1788 to Jan. 5, 1790,	80	2627	536	1350
Total,	350	12,263	2643	5760

It appears firſt then, that if we look at the ſeamen while employed on board their reſpective ſhips, and judge of them from the above accounts, we ſhall ſee the deſtructive nature of the ſlave-trade, for it appears that in 350 veſſels 12,263 ſeamen were employed, out of whom 2643 were loſt, that is to ſay, that *more than a fifth* of the *whole number employed*, or more than *ſeven in every ſingle voyage*, periſhed.

If again we look at ſuch of them as are diſcharged or deſert in the Weſt Indies, where the muſter-rolls ceaſe to take an account of them, (for ſo ſyſtematical does the management of the trade appear by the ſecond and fourth columns, that *nearly one-half of thoſe who go out with the ſhips are conſtantly* left behind*), and judge of them by what the different evidences have to ſay of them there, we ſhall ſee great reaſon to apprehend another very ſevere loſs *beſides that already ſtated* to happen among them while on board their reſpective ſhips.

* Some of theſe are again taken up by other Guinea-men, but very few. When a veſſel has once ſold her ſlaves, ſhe requires but few ſeamen to bring her home.

To

To ſhew this in the moſt unqueſtionable manner, we may begin with Captain Hall (of the merchants ſervice). The crews of the African ſhips, ſays he, when they arrive in the Weſt Indies, are generally *(he does not know a ſingle inſtance to the contrary)* in *a ſickly, debilitated ſtate*, and the ſeamen, who are diſcharged or deſert from thoſe ſhips in the Weſt Indies, are the *moſt miſerable objects* he ever met with in any country in his life. He has frequently ſeen them with *their toes rotted off*, their *legs ſwelled* to the ſize of their *thighs*, and in *an ulcerated ſtate* all over. He has ſeen them on the different wharfs in the iſlands of Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, particularly at the two laſt iſlands. He has alſo ſeen them lying under the cranes and balconies of the houſes near the water-ſide in Barbadoes and Jamaica *expiring*, and ſome *quite dead*. He met with an inſtance laſt July (1789) of *a dead ſeaman* lying on one of the wharfs in Bridge Town, Barbadoes, who had been *landed out of an African ſhip*.

To confirm the aſſertion of Captain Hall, of the merchants ſervice, that the crews of Guinea-men generally arrive at their deſtined ports of ſale in *a ſickly, debilitated ſtate*, we may appeal to Captain Hall, of the navy, who aſſerts, that in taking men (while in the Weſt Indies) out of merchant-ſhips for the king's ſervice, he has, in taking a part of the crew of a Guinea ſhip, whoſe number then conſiſted of ſeventy, been able to ſelect but *thirty*, who could have been *thought capable of ſerving* on board any ſhips of war, and when thoſe thirty were ſurveyed by order of the admiral, *he was reprimanded* for bringing ſuch men into the ſervice, who were more likely *to breed diſtempers* than to *be of any uſe*, and this at a time when ſeamen were ſo much wanted, that *almoſt any thing would have been taken*. He adds alſo, that this was not a *ſingular* inſtance, but that it was *generally the caſe*; for he had many opportunities between the years 1769 and 1773 of ſeeing *the great diſtreſſes of crews of Guinea ſhips, when they arrived in the Weſt Indies*.

We may appeal alſo to Captain Smith, of the navy, who aſſerts, that though he may have boarded *near twenty* of theſe veſſels in the Weſt Indies, for the purpoſe of impreſſing men, he was never able to get more than *two men*. The principal reaſon was the *fear of infection*, having ſeen many of them in a very *diſordered and ulcerated ſtate*.

The aſſertion alſo of Captain Hall, of the merchants ſervice, relative to their ſituation after their arrival at their deſtined ports of ſale, is confirmed by the reſt of the evidences in the minuteſt manner; for the ſeamen belonging to the ſlave-

veſſels

veſſels are there deſcribed, as *lying about the wharfs and cranes*, or wandering about the ſtreets or iſlands * *full of ſores and ulcers*, by Jeffreys, Dalrymple, Elliſon, Morley, Daviſon, Baillie, Towne, Bowman, H. Roſs, Douglas, Simpſon, Thomſon, and Forſter. The epithets alſo of *ſickly, emaciated, abject, deplorable objects*, are applied to them. They are mentioned again to be *deſtitute*, and *ſtarving*, and *without the means of ſupport*, no merchantmen taking them in becauſe *they are unable to work*, and men of war refuſing them *for fear of infection*. Many of them are alſo deſcribed to be lying about in a *dying ſtate;* and others have been actually *found dead*, and the bodies of others have been ſeen carrying by the negroes *to be interred*.

As a farther proof, and that an undeniable one, that the above deſcription of perſons is notorious in the iſlands, it appears by the evidence, that they are marked by a peculiar and *cant-name*, according to the ſort of place which they uſually haunt. When they are ſeen lying about the cranes and wharfs, they are termed *wharfingers*, when on the beach, and where there are no wharfs, *Beach-Horners*, and they are known by the appellation of *Scowbankers*, at Dominique.

It may be remarked here, that this diſeaſed and forlorn ſtate of the ſeamen *is ſo inſeparable from the ſlave-trade*, that the different evidences have not only witneſſed it at Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbadoes, (the places mentioned by Captain Hall), but wherever they have ſeen Guineamen arrive, namely at St. Vincents, Grenada, Dominique, and in North America alſo.†

Having now traced the bad effects of the ſlave-trade as viſible among the ſeamen, while employed in it, and among thoſe alſo who leave it at the port of delivery, it may be proper to add, that they are perceptible among many of

* It is aſſerted by the evidences, that they never ſaw any other than Guinea ſeamen in that ſtate in the Weſt Indies.

† The reaſons why ſuch immenſe numbers are left behind in the Weſt Indies, as are found in this deplorable ſtate, are the following. The ſeamen leave their ſhips from ill uſage, ſays Elliſon. It is uſual for Captains, ſay Clappeſon and Young, to treat them ill, that they may deſert and forfeit their wages. Three others ſtate, they are left behind purpoſely by their Captains; and Mr H. Roſs adds, in theſe emphatical words, "that it was no uncommon thing for the Captains to ſend on ſhore, a few hours before they ſail, their lame, emaciated, and ſick ſeamen, leaving them to periſh."

them,

them, *even after their return to their native country:* for Mr Falconbridge ſays, that he was a pupil in the Briſtol infirmary for twelve months, and that the *greateſt part* of the diſeaſed ſeamen there, in that time, were ſeamen who had belonged *to the ſlave-veſſels,* and though theſe generally went out of the infirmary better than when they came in, yet their health appeared to be ſo far deſtroyed as never to be able to be perfectly reſtored.

As to the queſtion, whether the trade in the natural productions of Africa would be equally deſtructive to the ſeamen employed in it as the trade in ſlaves, there cannot, in the nature of things, be that ſort of poſitive evidence as in the former caſe. There are, however, three ſpecies of preſumption, from whence ſome concluſion may be drawn.

The firſt is the following. Captain Thompſon, when on the Coaſt of Africa, lay for ſeveral weeks near a veſſel, which traded in *wood, ivory, and gum,* (*which is a caſe in point*), and he had the beſt accounts from his officers of the *healthineſs* and good order of this ſhip. This, however, is the only veſſel of the kind, which any of the evidences have ſeen.

A ſecond ſpecies of preſumption is to be entertained from the opinion of thoſe, who have viſited the Coaſt of Africa. The ſame Captain Thompſon ſays, that he does not think a trade in the natural productions of Africa would be ſo detrimental to the health of the ſeamen as the ſlave-trade, for they would not be liable to ſo much unpleaſant and hard work, or ſuch expoſure to dews and weather. Mr Newton aſſerts alſo, that ſuch a trade might be carried on without much expoſure to weather and ill treatment, the * natural attendants of the ſlave-trade: and Sir George Young is of opinion, that a trade in the natural productions of Africa would not be attended with more inconvenience to the health of the ſeamen employed in it than the preſent † Weſt India trade.

* It is evident, that inſurrections and contagious diſorders from the ſlaves muſt be natural cauſes of mortality to ſeamen in ſlave-ſhips, which could not exiſt in ſhips in the other trade.

† It was formerly urged by the enemies of the abolition, that the Weſt India trade was as deſtructive to ſeamen as the ſlave-trade; but by an account made up for the Houſe of Commons, from the Muſter-Rolls of Weſt Indiamen, it appears, that out of 462 veſſels, carrying 7640 ſeamen, only 118 were loſt, or about one in 65.

The

The third ſpecies conſiſts in certain veſſels going to the ſame coaſt, viz. men of war, which do not experience the ſame proportion of loſs.

Captain Scott, of the Merlin, which carried 100 men, loſt eight, of whom only four died of the diſorders of the country.

Sir George Young, in the ſhip he commanded, which had 100 men, loſt two, who were ſickly when they left England, and a boy by accident.

Captain Thompſon, of the Nautilus, out of 100 buried one, who died by his own neglect.

Captain Hills, of the Zephyr, out of 90 buried none.

And Captain Wilſon, of the Race-Horſe, out of 100, did not loſe a man. Thus, out of 490 in the ſhips of war, only twelve were buried. *

CHAP. IX.

Whether the Seamen employed in the Slave-Trade be not barbarouſly uſed in general, and whether ſuch barbarous uſage be not peculiar to, or ſpring out of the very nature of, this Trade.

THAT the ſeamen employed in the ſlave-trade are *worſe fed*, both in point of quantity and quality of proviſions, than the ſeamen in other trades, is allowed by moſt of the evidences, and that they have *little or no ſhelter night or day from the inclemency of the weather, during the whole of the Middle Paſſage*, is acknowledged by *them all.*

With reſpect to their perſonal ill uſage, the following extracts may ſuffice.

Mr Morely aſſerts that the ſeamen in all the Guinea-men he ſailed in, except one, were generally treated with great rigour, and many with cruelty. He recollects many inſtances: Mathews, the chief mate of the Venus, Captain Forbes, would knock a man down for any frivolous thing with a cat, a piece of wood, or a cook's axe, with which he

* It muſt be remarked, that when Captain Scott loſt eight out of 100, it was in the year 1769, ſince which great improvements have been made for the health of the ſeamen; and the Editor knows, that the men of war, now going to Africa, ſeldom loſe a man.

once

once cut a man down the ſhoulder, by throwing it at him in a paſſion. Captain Dixon likewiſe, in the Amelia, tied up the men, and gave them four or five dozen laſhes at a time, and then rubbing them with pickles, made uſe of certain vulgar expreſſions. Mr Morely alſo himſelf, when he was Dixon's cabin boy, for accidentally breaking a glaſs, was tied to the tiller by the hands, flogged with a cat, and kept hanging for ſome time.

Mr Morley has ſeen the ſeamen lie and die upon deck. They are generally, he ſays, treated ill when ſick. He has known men aſk to have their wounds or ulcers dreſſed; and has heard the doctor, with oaths, tell them to take their own dung and dreſs them.

Mr Elliſon alſo, in deſcribing the treatment in the Briton, ſays, there was a boy on board, whom Wilſon, the chief mate, was always beating. One morning, in the paſſage out, he had not got the tea-kettle boiled in time for his breakfaſt, upon which, when it was brought, Wilſon told him he would ſeverely flog him after breakfaſt. The boy, for fear of this, went into the lee fore chains. When Wilſon came from the cabin, and called for Paddy, (the name he went by, being an Iriſh boy), he would not come, but remained in the fore chains; on which Wilſon going forward, and attempting to haul him in, the boy jumped overboard, and was drowned.

Another time, on the Middle Paſſage, the ſame Wilſon ordered one James Alliſon, (a man he had been continually beating for trifles) to go into the women's room to ſcrape it. Alliſon ſaid he was not able, for he was very unwell; upon which Wilſon obliged him to go down. Obſerving, however, that the man did not work, he aſked him the reaſon, and was anſwered as before, "that he was not able." Upon this, Wilſon threw a handſpike at him, which ſtruck him on the breaſt, and he dropped down to appearance dead.—Alliſon recovered afterwards a little, but died the next day.

Mr Elliſon relates other inſtances of ill uſage on board his own ſhip, and with reſpect to inſtances in others, he ſays, that *in all ſlave-ſhips* they are moſt commonly beaten and knocked about for nothing. He recollects that on board the Phœnix, a Briſtol ſhip, while lying on the coaſt, the boatſwain and five of the crew made their eſcape in the yawl, but were taken up by the natives. When Captain Biſhop heard it, he ordered them to be kept on ſhore at Forje, a ſmall town at the mouth of Calabar River, chained by the necks, legs, and hands, and to have each a plantain a day only.

only. The boatſwian, whoſe name was Tom Jones, and an old ſhipmate of his, and a very good ſeamen, *died raving mad in his chains there.* The other five *died in their chains alſo.*

Mr Towne, in ſpeaking of the treatment on board the Peggy, Captain Daviſon, ſays, that their cheſts were brought upon deck, and ſtaved and burnt, and themſelves turned out from lying below; and if any murmurs were heard among them, they were inhumanly beaten with any thing that came in the way, or flogged, both legs put in irons, and chained abaft to the pumps, and there made to work points and gaſkets during the Captain's pleaſure; and very often beat juſt as the Captain thought proper. He himſelf has often ſeen the Captain as he has walked by, kick them repeatedly, and if they have ſaid any thing that he might deem offenſive, he has immediately called for a ſtick to beat them with; they, at the ſame time, having both legs in irons, an iron collar about their necks, and a chain; and when on the Coaſt of Guinea, if not releaſed before their arrival there from their confinement, they were put into the boats, and made to row backwards and forwards, either with the Captain from ſhip to ſhip, or on any other duty, ſtill both legs in irons, an iron collar about their necks, with a chain locked to the boat, and taken out when no other duty was required of them at night, and locked faſt upon the open deck, expoſed to the heavy rains and dews, without any thing to lie upon, or any thing to cover them. This was a practice on board the Peggy.

He ſays alſo, that ſimilar treatment prevailed on board the Sally, another of the ſhips in which he ſailed. One of the ſeamen had both legs in irons, and a collar about his neck, and was chained to the boat for three months, and very often moſt inhumanly beaten for complaining of his ſituation, both by the Captain and other officers. At laſt he became ſo weak, that he could not ſit upon the thwart or ſeat of the boat to row, or do any thing elſe. They then put him out of the boat, and made him pick oakum on board the ſhip, with only three pounds of bread a week, and half a pound of ſalt beef per day. He remained in that ſituation, with both his legs in irons, but the latter part of the time without a collar. One evening he came aft, during the Middle Paſſage, to beg ſomething to eat, or he ſhould die. The Captain on this inhumanly beat him, and uſed a great number of reproaches, and ordered him to go forward, and die and be damned. The man died in the night. The ill treatment on board the Sally was general.

As

As another particular inſtance, a landman, one Edward Hilton, was in the boat watering, and complained of his being long in the boat without meat or drink. The boatſwain, being the officer, beat him with the boat's tiller, having nothing elſe, and cut his head in ſeveral places, ſo that when he came on board he was all over blood. Mr Towne aſked him the reaſon of it. Hilton began to tell him, but before he could properly tell the ſtory, the mate came forward, (by order of the Captain) the ſurgeon and the boatſwain, and all of them together, fell to beating him with their canes. The ſurgeon ſtruck him on the ſide of his eye, ſo that it afterwards mortified, and was loſt. He immediately had both his legs put in irons, after he had been ſo beat, that he could not ſtand. The next morning he was put into the boat on the ſame duty as before, ſtill remaining with both legs in irons, and locked with a chain to the boat, until ſuch time as he became ſo weak, that he was not able to remain any longer there. He was then put on board the ſhip, and laid forwards ſtill in irons, very ill. His allowance was immediately ſtopped, as it was the ſurgeon's opinion it was the only method of curing any one of them who complained of illneſs. He remained in that ſituation, after being taken out of the boat, for ſome weeks after. During this time, Mr Towne was obliged to go to Junk River, and on his return he inquired for Hilton, and was told that he was lying before the foremaſt, almoſt dead. He went and ſpoke to him, but Hilton ſeemed inſenſible. The ſame day, Mr Towne received his orderes to go a ſecond time in the ſhallop to Junk River. After he had gotten under weigh, the commander of the ſhallop was ordered to bring to, and take Hilton in, and *leave him on ſhore any where.* He lived that evening and night out, and died early the next morning, and was thrown overboard off Cape Mezzurado.

Mr Falconbridge, being called upon alſo to ſpeak to the ill uſage of ſeamen, ſays that on board the Alexander, Captain M'Taggart, he has ſeen them tied up and flogged with the cat frequently. He remembers alſo an inſtance of an old man, who was boatſwain of the Alexander, having one night ſome words with the mate, when the boatſwain was ſeverely beaten, and had one or two of his teeth knocked out. The boatſwain ſaid he would jump overboard; upon which he was tied to the rail of the quarter-deck, and a pump bolt put into his mouth by way of gagging him. He was then untied, put under the half-deck, and a centinel put over him all night—in the morning he was releaſed. Mr Falconbridge

always conſidered him as a quiet, inoffenſive man. In the ſame voyage a black boy was beaten every day, and one day, after he was ſo beaten, he jumped through one of the gun-ports of the cabin into the river. A canoe was lying along-ſide, which dropped aſtern, and picked him up. Mr Falconbridge gave him one of his own ſhirts to put on, and aſked him if he did not expect to be devoured by the ſharks. The boy ſaid he did, and that it would be much better for him to be killed at once, than to be daily treated with ſo much cruelty.

Mr Falconbridge remembers alſo, on board the ſame ſhip, that the black cook one day broke a plate. For this he had a fiſh-gig darted at him, which would certainly have deſtroyed him if he had not ſtooped or dropped down. At another time alſo, the carpenter's mate had let his pitch-pot catch fire. He and the cook were accordingly both tied up, ſtripped, and flogged, but the cook with the greateſt ſeverity. After that, the cook had ſalt water and cayenne pepper rubbed upon his back. A man alſo came on board at Bonny, belonging to a little ſhip, (Mr Falconbridge believes the captain's name was Dodſon, of Liverpool) which had been overſet at New Calabar. This man, when he came on board, was in a convaleſcent ſtate. He was ſeverely beaten one night, but for what cauſe Mr Falconbridge knows not, upon which he came and applied to Mr Falconbridge for ſomething to rub his back with, Mr Falconbridge was told by the captain not to give him any thing, and the man was deſired to go forward. He went accordingly, and lay under the forecaſtle. Mr Falconbridge viſited him very often, at which times he complained of his bruiſes. After this, he had a return of his flux, and died in about three weeks from the time he was beaten. The laſt words he ever ſpoke to Mr Falconbridge were (after ſhedding tears) "*I cannot puniſh him,*" (meaning the captain) "*but God will.*" Theſe are the moſt remarkable inſtances which Mr Falconbridge recollects. He ſays, however, that the ill treatment was ſo general, that only three in this ſhip eſcaped being beaten out of fifty perſons.

To theſe inſtances, which fell under the eyes of the evidences now cited, we may add the obſervations of a gentleman, who, though never in the ſlave trade, had yet great opportunities of obtaining information upon this ſubject. Sir George Young remarks, that thoſe ſeamen, whom he ſaw in the ſlave-trade, while on the coaſt in a man of war, complained of their ill treatment, bad feeding, and cruel uſage.

They

They *all* of them wanted to enter on board his ſhip. It was likewiſe the cuſtom for the ſeamen of every ſhip he ſaw at a diſtance, to come on board him with their boats; moſt of them *quite naked*, and threatening to *turn pirates*, if he did not take them. This they told him openly. He is perſuaded, if he had given them encouragement, and had had a ſhip of the line to have manned, he could have done it in a very ſhort time, for they *would all have left their ſhips*. He has alſo received ſeveral ſeamen on board his ſhip from the woods, where they had no ſubſiſtence, but to which they had fled for refuge from their reſpective veſſels.

That the above are not the only inſtances of barbarity contained in the evidence, and that this barbarous uſage is peculiar to, or ſpringing out of the very nature of the trade in ſlaves, may be inſiſted on from the following accounts:

Captain Hall (of the merchants ſervice) believes the ſeamen are in general treated with great barbarity in the ſlave-ſhips, and he does not know of their being ill treated *in any other ſerviee*.

Captain Thompſon concludes, from the many complaints he received from ſeamen, while on the coaſt, that they are far from being well treated on board the *ſlave-ſhips*. One Bowden ſwam from the Fiſher, of Liverpool, Captain Kendal, to the Nautilus, amidſt a number of ſharks, to claim his protection. Kendal wrote for the man, who refuſed to return, ſaying his life would be endangered. He therefore kept him in the Nautilus, till ſhe was paid off, and found him a diligent, willing, active ſeamen. Several of the crew, he thinks, of the Brothers, of Liverpool, Captain Clark, ſwam towards the Nautilus, when paſſing by. Two only reached her. The reſt, he believes, regained their own ſhip. The majority of the crew had the day before come on board the Nautilus in a boat to complain of ill uſuage, but he had returned them with an officer to enquire into and redreſs their complaints. He received many letters from ſeamen in ſlave-ſhips, complaining of ill uſage, and deſiring him to protect them, or take them on board. He is inclined to think, that *ſhips trading in the produce of Africa, are not ſo ill uſed as thoſe in the ſlave-ſhips*. Several of his own officers gave him the beſt accounts of the *treatment* in the *Iris*, a veſſel trading for *wood*, *gums*, and *ivory*, near which the Nautilus lay for ſome weeks.

Lieutenant Simpſon ſays, that on his firſt voyage, when lying at Fort Appolonia, the Fly Guineaman was in the roads. On the return of the Adventure's boat from the

ſort, they were hailed by ſome ſeamen belonging to the Fly, requeſting that they might be taken from on board the Guineaman, and put on board the man of war, for that their treatment was ſuch as to make their lives miſerable. The boat by the direction of Captain Parry, was ſent to the Fly, and one or two men were brought on board him. In his ſecond voyage, he reccollects, that on firſt ſeeing the Albion Guineaman, ſhe carried a preſs of ſail, ſeemingly to avoid them, but, finding it impracticable, ſhe ſpoke them; the day after which the Captain of the Albion brought a ſeaman on board the Adventure, whom he wiſhed to be left there, complaining that he was a very riotous and diſorderly man. The man, on the contrary, proved very peaceable and well-behaved, nor was there one ſingle inſtance of his conduct, from which he could ſuppoſe he merited the character given him. He ſeemed to rejoice at quitting the Albion, and informed Mr Simpſon, that he was cruelly beaten both by the captain and ſurgeon; that he was half ſtarved; and that the ſurgeon neglected the ſick ſeamen, alleging that he was only paid for attending the ſlaves. He alſo informed Mr Simpſon, that their allowance of proviſions was increaſed, and their treatment ſomewhat better when a man of war was on the coaſt. He recollects another inſtance of a ſeaman, with a leg ſhockingly ulcerated, requeſting a paſſage in the Adventure to England; alleging that he was left behind from a Guineaman. He alleged various inſtances of ill treatment he had received, and confirmed the ſailor of the Albion's account, that their allowance of proviſions was increaſed, and treatment better, when a man of war was on the coaſt. During Mr Simpſon's ſtay at C. Coaſt Caſtle, the Adventure's boat was ſent to Annamaboe to the Spy Guineaman; on her return, three men were concealed under her ſails, who had left the ſlave-ſhip—they complained their treatment was ſo bad, that their lives were miſerable on board—beaten and half ſtarved.—There were various other inſtances which eſcape his memory. Mr Simpſon ſays, however, that he has *never heard any complaints from Weſt-Indiamen or other merchant-ſhips*;—on the contrary, they wiſhed *to avoid a man of war*; whereas, if the captain of the Adventure had liſtened to all the complaints made to him from ſailors of ſlave-ſhips, and removed them, he muſt *have greatly diſtreſſed the African trade.*

Captain

Captain Hall, of the navy, ſpeaking on the ſame ſubject, aſſerts, that as to peculiar modes of puniſhment adopted in Guineaman, he once ſaw a man chained by the neck in the main top of a ſlave-ſhip, when paſſing under the ſtern of his Majeſty's ſhip Creſcent, in Kingſton-Bay, St. Vincent's; and was told by part of the crew, taken out of the ſhip, *at their own requeſt*, that the man had been *there one hundred and twenty days*. He ſays he has great reaſon to believe, that in *no trade are ſeamen ſo badly treated as in the ſlave-trade*, from their *always flying to men of war* for redreſs, and whenever they come within reach; whereas men *from Weſt Indian or other trades ſeldom apply to a ſhip of* war.*

The laſt evidence, whom perhaps it will appear neceſſary to cite on this occaſion, is the Rev. Mr Newton. This gentleman agrees in the † ill uſage of the ſeamen alluded to, and believes that the *ſlave trade* itſelf is a *great cauſe* of it, for he thinks that the real or ſuppoſed neceſſity of treating the negroes with rigour *gradually brings a numbneſs upon the heart, and renders moſt of thoſe who are engaged in it too indifferent to the ſufferings of their fellow-creatures*; and he ſuppoſes there is *no trade* in which ſeamen are treated with ſo little humanity as in *the African ſlave-trade*. He has himſelf ſeen the ſailors, *when ſick*, beaten for being *lazy* till they have *died under the blows*.

* The circumſtance of ſeamen in the ſlave trade being deſirous of leaving their ſhips, and of thoſe in other trades ſtaying by them, when in ſight of men of war, is confirmed alſo by Captains Smith and Wilſon, of the navy.

† It will be proper to mention here, that ſeveral ſpecific facts of the ill treatment of ſeamen in the ſlave-trade have been omitted in theſe accounts, as well as that this ill uſage is confirmed by more of the witneſſes, viz. Trotter, Dove, Parker, Storey, and Forſter; on the other hand, about ſeven captains may be traced, three of whoſe names only are mentioned, (viz. Butler, Smith, and Frazer) who have had the merit of going againſt the current of bad example in the abuſe of ſeamen in this trade. If it ſhould be aſked, how it happens that ſeamen enter for ſlave-veſſels, when ſuch general ill uſage there can hardly fail of being known, the reply muſt be taken from the evidence, "that whereas ſome of them enter voluntarily, the greater part of them are trepanned; for that it is the buſineſs of certain landlords to make them intoxicated, and get them into debt, after which *their only alternative is a Guineaman or a goal.*"

CHAP. X.

Whether it be true, as ſome ſay, that the Natives of Africa are happier in the European Colonies than in their own Country.

IF there be any of the ſlaves happier in the colonies than they were at home, they muſt be ſuch as were formerly ſlaves in their own country; and if ſo, the African muſt be ſhewn to be more oppreſſive than the colonial ſlavery.

This, however, is ſo far from being the caſe, that, as Mr H. Roſs obſerves, though on another occaſion any compariſon between the ſtate of the two is an * inſult to common ſenſe. The ſlaves in Africa are mentioned by Mr Towne as *never ill uſed* by their own people. They are treated, ſays Mr Kiernan, as Europeans treat people *of their own family*. They are deſcribed again by Hall and Dalrymple *as eating and drinking with their maſters*. Captain Wilſon ſays alſo *they live with their maſters* and are *not diſtinguiſhable from them*. Mr Falconbridge never ſaw any whom *by their treatment he could ſay were ſlaves*. Mr Wadſtrom ſpeaks of them *as well uſed*, and Mr Morley, as treated *with kindneſs, and better than in the Weſt Indies*.

Now, if the lives of the ſlaves in Africa ſhould be ſo much happier (as may be ſeen by comparing the above accounts with thoſe in Chap. IV.) than the lives of the ſlaves in the European colonies, it will not be doubted that freemen in the former parts of the world muſt be happier than ſlaves in the latter.

Though the obſervations already made might be ſufficient (both with reſpect to ſuch as having been originally

* Some have even gone ſo far as to ſay that they are happier than the labouring poor of this country: but it has been moſt amply refuted by Woolrich, Captain Wilſon, Jeffreys Rees, Dean of Middleham, and H. Roſs, the latter of whom, though he compared the different circumſtances in their reſpective ſituations at the requeſt of the Committee, prefaced it by ſaying, that any compariſon between the ſtate of the two was an *inſult to common ſenſe*.

freemen,

freemen, and ſuch as having been originally * ſlaves in their own country, are ſent to the European colonies) to diſprove the aſſertion inſinuated in the title to this chapter, yet as there are other very ſtrong proofs in the evidence, it would be unpardonable not to cite them in the preſent caſe.

Mr M. Cook has often heard Africans in the Weſt Indies expreſs *their praiſe of their own country* and their *regret at leaving it.* Lieutenant Daviſon obſerves it is common for ſick Africans to ſay, *with pleaſure,* they are *going to die,* and are *going home* from this Buccra (or *White man's*) *country.* It is alſo notorious that the Africans, when brought into the colonies, frequently deſtroy themſelves. Dr Harriſon, Coor, M. Terry, Cook, Fitzmaurice, Clappeſon, Baillie, Dalrymple, Daviſon, Dean of Middleham, Captain Roſs, and Woolrich, all agree in this fact. The cauſes of it are deſcribed in general to be *ill treatment,* the deſire of *returning home,* and the *preference of death to life when in the ſituation of ſlaves,* all of which are ſo many proofs of their *ſuperior happineſs in their own country.* It is alſo very remarkable, as we find from Mr Coor, that theſe acts of deſperation ſhould have been ſo frequent as to have occaſioned it to have paſſed into an obſervation, "that the Gold Coaſt negroes; when driven to deſpair, *always cut their throats,* and thoſe of the moſt inland country *moſtly* hang themſelves.

To give a few extracts from the evidences on this occaſion. A negro boy of his, ſays Dr Harriſon, deteſted ſlavery ſo much that he *refuſed all ſupport,* which brought on a dropſy that killed him. Another negro, who had been a great man in his own country, refuſed to work for any white man, and being therefore puniſhed by the overſeer, he deſired him to tell his maſter that he *would be a ſlave to no man.* His maſter ordered him to be removed to another eſtate. His hands were tied behind him, and in going over a bridge he jumped into the water and appeared no more. Theſe are two facts of Dr Harriſon's own knowledge, out of *a great many* which he cannot now recollect.

Mr Fitzmaurice has known too many ſuicides, among new negroes, eſpecially, both by hanging themſelves and dirt-

* Very few ſlaves in the Weſt Indies are ſuch as have been ſlaves in Africa, for, ſays Dalrymple and Wadſtrom, there are very few ſlaves in Africa at all, and thoſe who have them, ſays Morley, do not like to ſell them.

dirt-eating which *they knew to be fatal.* He loſt one year twelve new negroes by it, though he fed them well. On his remonſtrating they conſtantly told him they *preferred dying to living.* A *great proportion* of the new negroes that go on ſugar-eſtates, *die in this way.*

A planter, ſays Mr Woolrich, purchaſed ſix men ſlaves out of a Guinea ſhip, and put them on a ſmall iſland to plant cotton. They had a white man with them as overſeer, who left them of a Saturday night. There were no white inhabitants on the iſland. On the Monday following the overſeer returned, when he found *all the ſix hanging near together in the woods.* Mr Woolrich often inquired of the moſt ſenſible negroes what could be the cauſe of ſuch actions, and the anſwer was, "*that they would rather die than live in the ſituation they were in.*"

As the laſt proof in the evidence, and that an irrefragable one, how much happier the Africans are in their own country than in the colonies, may be aduced the *great joy* which is diſcovered at their funerals by their fellow-ſlaves, and which joy is ſaid to proceed from the idea that the deceaſed *are returning home.*

Mr Douglas ſaw three funerals of *Guinea ſlaves* in the Weſt Indies. At theſe funerals, ſays he, *they ſing, and are merry,* and naming the deceaſed, ſay, *he is gone to Guinea.*

Great rejoicings, ſays Cook, are made by *African* negroes at the funerals of each other, from a belief that the deceaſed *are gone to their own country again.*

African negroes, ſays Foſter, ſhewed the *moſt extravagant joy* at their friends funerals, from believing the deceaſed *gone back to their country.*

Captain Wilſon confirms the above by ſtating, that he never ſaw any ſigns of happineſs among *the imported ſlaves,* except at their funerals, when they ſhew *extravagant joy,* from a perſuaſion that the deceaſed *is eſcaped from ſlavery to his own country.* Captain Wilſon, however, does not ſtop here, for he goes on to declare, that *in Africa* their funerals *are attended with the moſt mournful cries.*

It is impoſſible to conclude this chapter better than by an extract from the evidence of Mr Dalrymple.—That gentleman ſays, he might have had the means of putting his eſtate in Grenada under cultivation, as he might have had ſlaves from the houſe of Backhouſe and Tarlton, but having had an opportunity when on the coaſt of Africa, of knowing *how happy the negroes were in their own country,* and knowing the unjuſtifiable means by which they were made ſlaves there, their cruel

uſage

uſage when on board ſhip, and *their ſevere uſage when in the Weſt Indies*, he could not conſiſtently with his ideas of what was right, purchaſe any ſlaves, and particularly as he did not intend to remain on the plantation himſelf.

CHAP. XI.

Whether the Africans by good uſage have not in ſeveral inſtances increaſed by births in the Colonies; and whether it be not clear from other facts, as well as the opinions of perſons in the Evidence, that they would increaſe by population generally in conſequence of general good Uſage, ſo as to ſuperſede entirely the neceſſity of the Slave-Trade.

CAPTAIN Ross ſays, he knows of three eſtates in the iſland of Jamaica, one belonging to Lord Dudley, another to Meſſrs Muir and Atkinſon, and a third to Mr Malcolm, on which there was a *conſiderable increaſe* of the *ſlaves by birth*.

Lieutenant Daviſon confirms the account given of Mr Malcolm's eſtate: that gentleman, he ſays, had not bought a negro for ten or twelve years, during which time the ſlaves had conſiderably increaſed. Lieutenant Daviſon alſo knew an eſtate, where the negroes were all *Creoles*.

Mr M. Cook knew two eſtates in the ſame iſland, on which he really believes the negroes to have increaſed by births.

Mr Coor ſays, there was a plantation in Jamaica belonging to a Mr Dunn, which, when he Mr Coor firſt went there was a ſmall one, not for want of land but of negroes. This eſtate at that time made about fifty hogſheads of ſugar yearly. In conſequence, however, of good uſage, the negroes increaſed ſo faſt (the children ſeeming to ſwarm on this eſtate) that before Mr Coor quitted the iſland, Mr Dunn had not only doubled the produce, but had ſettled *another eſtate out of it*, which made ſixty hogſheads per year, and he had never bought *but ſix new negroes* in the whole time.

In the ſame iſland, and pariſh of Clarendon, the negroes on Ramſbury eſtate increaſed ſo faſt, ſays Mr Fitzmaurice, that a gang of them was drawn off to ſettle a new eſtate, called Yarmouth,

Yarmouth, which he had then the care of, but the ſettlement was diſcontinued from the change of the attorney. On Orange, in St. James's, no negroes were bought for at leaſt fifteen years, and they increaſed; as alſo on Eden in the ſame pariſh. He lived on both theſe eſtates.

Mr Forſter, ſpeaking of the iſland of Antigua, ſays, that on the whole of Colonel Farley's plantations they had no need of new negroes. He has heard the Colonel ſay there was a conſiderable increaſe, but on one particularly. Mr Thomas Gravenor's negroes alſo increaſed. He knew Captain Thompſon, of Seacow Bay, Tortola, who wanted no new negroes for many years.

Mr Duncan obſerves, that the treatment on the eſtate that he lived on, which was in the iſland of Antigua, was better than common: the effect was that the ſlaves increaſed. The ſlaves alſo on Sir G. Thomas's Belfaſt eſtate, and Carliſle's, and ſeveral others he cannot now name, increaſed, or kept up their numbers without any addition by purchaſe.

Mr Giles ſays, that on two eſtates where he lived, the increaſe of the ſlaves, under a milder treatment in the iſland of St. Croix, exceeded their decreaſe by one per cent.

Capt. Hall, of the navy, mentions an eſtate, belonging to the Marquis de Rouvray, in the iſland of St Domingo, where in conſequence of good uſage the ſlaves increaſed ſo faſt as to have rendered any farther purchaſes unneceſſary.

Mr Biſhop told Mr Town, that in a plantation of his, in Barbadoes, they had not bought a Guinea negro for upwards of forty years, and that by good uſage there were a great many more now there than formerly.

The Reverend Mr Davies ſays, that on Kendal plantation, in the iſland of Barbadoes, belonging to Mr Steel, the ſtock of ſlaves was kept up by births. He knew alſo a few other eſtates which kept up their numbers without importation.

The Dean of Middleham, while in Barbadoes, underſtood from Dr Mapp's ſon, that the ſtock on the eſtate, to which he had juſt ſucceeded, had increaſed ſo much by birth, that there was a redundance ſufficient nearly to ſtock another eſtate. The Reverend Mr Carter's ſlaves alſo increaſed conſiderably, and theſe cultivated his glebe and planted canes. The Dean's brother alſo informed him, that his own negroes had doubled their number by natural increaſe in twenty years, and they were employed, he believes, in common field-buſineſs as other negroes. The Dean had heard of ſeveral

veral others of his acquaintance, who had kept up their ſtocks by the natural increaſe, without purchaſe.

Having now mentioned thoſe eſtates, on which it appears that the ſlaves have increaſed by birth, it will be proper to mention thoſe other facts in the evidence, by which it will be clear, that the Africans by general good uſage will increaſe ſo generally as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of the ſlave-trade.

1. In the iſland of Barbadoes the field-ſlaves appear to *be better treated than elſwhere.* Accordingly we find from Mr Woodward, that while reſident there, in the years 1782 and 1783, he never heard any complaint of the want of negroes to carry on the plantation or other buſineſs. And yet he does not recollect *the ſale of a ſingle cargo of ſlaves* during that time.

2. *Field-ſlaves* cultivating cotton, pimento, and coffee, are deſcribed by Mr Cook *as being treated better*, and *as increaſing faſter* by birth than thoſe employed on ſugar-eſtates.

3. *Domeſtics* are univerſally ſaid to be *treated better* on the whole than *field*-ſlaves, and theſe are generally ſaid *to increaſe.* There are many more children, ſays Jeffreys, among *domeſtics* than *field-ſlaves.* Captain Hall ſays, that in his time the *domeſtics were underſtood to increaſe by birth*, and Lieutenant Daviſon, that *they did actually increaſe.* Mr Forſter gives an inſtance of rapid increaſe among the domeſtics. A widow Shervington was left in debt with five or ſix negroes, who by kind treatment in fifteen or twenty years increaſed to fifteen or more. He knows *ſeveral inſtances of this kind.*

4. The *Maroon* negroes, originally Africans, who live in mall communities in Jamaica, as free people, and who of courſe *are not ſubject to ill uſage like the ſlaves*, are ſaid to *increaſe* alſo. M. Cook believes the *Maroon* negroes to be increaſing very faſt. Lieutenant Daviſon aſſerts, that in his time they *increaſed moſt certainly.* He has often been in all their towns, and always ſaw great numbers of children. Their numbers were conſiderably more when he left, than when he came to the iſland. It was impoſſible for them to have received any addition of number from other quarters.

5. African negroes alſo, when tranſported to the *Eaſt Indies*, have, *by good uſage, increaſed there.* Mr Botham ſays, that in the year 1764, the Eaſt India Company ſent ſlave-ſhips to Africa and Madagaſcar, and tranſported to Bencoolen, for their public and other works, nearly a thouſand ſlaves,

and

and in much the ſame proportion of men, women, and children, as they are carried from Africa to the Weſt Indies, that is, more men than women and children. Theſe ſlaves, on the firſt years of their arrival, from the *unhealthineſs of the climate*, and other cauſes, decreaſed: but when they had been at Bencoolen a few years, where they *were humanely treated*, they began *annually to increaſe;* notwithſtanding from the little attention that was paid to their way of life, both men and women lived in the moſt abandoned way. The wonder was, that they did increaſe, as the young women ſlaves were common proſtitutes to the ſoldiers and ſailors.

6. African negroes alſo, tranſported to different parts of North America, have, in conſequence of being * *better uſed, increaſed by population there.*

Dr Harriſon's diſtinction between the difference of the treatment of the negroes by the Weſt Indians and Americans, is as follows: In Jamaica, he ſays, ſlaves were generally treated ill, and only individuals treated them well; in Carolina, on the other hand, they were generally treated well, and only individuals uſed them ill.—Let us now ſee the conſequences.

Mr Dove ſays, that from 1774 to 1783, there were no importations of ſlaves to Boſton or New York, and yet he thinks that they did not decreaſe in their number during that time.

It was generally believed, ſays Mr Stuart, that the Carolinan ſlaves increaſed without importation.

Mr Savage ſays alſo, that where they were well uſed in Carolina they increaſed greatly. A friend of his, Gabriel Manigault, Eſq; informed him, that in 1737, he had on his eſtate eighty-ſix negroes, of which twelve or fourteen were ſuperannuated. The latter he replaced by others. With no more addition than this, they had increaſed to two hundred and ſeventy about a year or two (1773) before he left the country

Mr Baillie alſo, ſpeaking of Carolina, believes the negroes are raiſed there in as great a proportion as children in Europe, when they are in healthy ſituations, notwithſtanding which he obſerves, that the *cultivation of rice is as laborious as that of ſugar*, and that the *climate of Jamaica is much more*

* The evidences unanimouſly maintain, that their uſage is better in America than in the Weſt Indies.

favourable

favourable to the conſtitution of the negroes than that of Carolina.

Dr Harriſon alſo gives his opinion as a medical man, that the climate of Jamaica is *more favourable* to the increaſe of ſlaves than that of Carolina; notwithſtanding which diſadvantage *Carolina increaſed in ſlaves*, while *thoſe in Jamaica decreaſed.*

Mr Irving mentions the increaſed population of ſlaves by birth in Carolina to have been reckoned in his time at *from two to ten per cent.* and yet he ſpeaks of the climate *in the ſame manner as the reſt. The breeding of ſlaves*, he ſays, was conſidered *ſo advantageous*, that the planter generally valued a child, on the day of its birth, at five pounds.

Mr Clapham, examined on this ſubject, for Maryland, ſays, the negroes kept up their numbers there by propagation, and increaſed, ſo that *the overplus*, in ſome inſtances, *were ſhipped to the Weſt Indies.* He has known an hundred ſales, where proprietors have had *too many for their uſe*, in conſequence of increaſe by propagation, yet they were not thought to be * well treated, though better than to the ſouthward, and the climate *was ſubject to great and ſudden variety of heat and cold.*

Mr Beverly, examined reſpecting Virginia, ſtates, that the negroes there always kept up their numbers, and *generally increaſed.* His father's more than doubled their numbers. In 1761 he had about two hundred, and in 1788 he paid taxes on above five hundred and forty, of whom not above twenty or thirty had been added by purchaſe.

Mr Beverley was told in America, that when the abolition of the ſlave-trade was firſt agitated in 1774, many doubted the practicability of keeping up the numbers by births, and the perſons ſo doubting have, ſince the abolition of the ſlave-trade, expreſſed to him *a conviction that their fears were groundleſs.*

Mr Crew ſtates alſo, that the negroes in Virginia increaſed rapidly without importation, ſo much ſo, that it was a general opinion *that it was profitable to hold ſlaves on this account, excluſive of the profits of their labour.* He thinks, at the ſame time, that the *culture of tobacco is nearly as laborious as that of ſugar*, and that the climate of Virginia *is not ſo favourable* as that of the Weſt Indies to *African conſtitutions*

* The evidence warrants us in ſaying, that a ſlave in America, ſaid to be not well uſed, would be conſidered as well uſed in the Weſt Indies.

on account of the *ſevere* * *cold in the winter.* Mr Crew obſerves, that the importation of African ſlaves into Virginia has been generally diſcontinued ſince 1772.

From the above accounts, (by which the natives of Africa have been viewed in different climates and ſituations), but particularly from the laſt, it is evident that if they were in general well uſed in the European colonies, they would ſo generally increaſe, as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of the ſlave-trade; for if in the American climate, totally uncongenial to their conſtitutions, they have generally increaſed by births, much more would they in the Weſt Indian, which is repreſented as much more favourable to their propagation. This will be ſtill more evident, if we prove that they are prolific in their own country, and that the Weſt Indian climate is the ſame as their own at home. Mr Falconbridge ſays, that the females are *more prolific* than thoſe of other countries. Out of four or five deliveries, at which he was preſent, there were twice twins. Captain Hall has ſeen *as many children* in the towns and villages in Africa in proportion to the grown people, as he has met with in this country. Sir G. Young declares, that the negro women on the coaſt of Africa appeared to him as *prolific as any race of people* he ever ſaw in any part of the world, and the climate of *the Weſt Indies to be not leſs favourable to them than their own.* Hence he ſays, the ſtock of ſlaves might be kept up or increaſed *without any importations from Africa.* At firſt the deficiencies might be felt for a few, *perhaps twenty years,* but after a while, they would *double their numbers,* for he ſees no phyſical cauſe to prevent a black man and woman being *equally prolific in the Weſt Indies as in Africa.*

There are others, who from their experience in the Weſt Indies are of a ſimilar opinion. Dr Jackſon cannot conceive, if ſlaves were well uſed, why they ſhould not keep up their numbers. They are *naturally prolific, and the iſlands in general congenial to their conſtitutions.*—It is the opinion of Mr Coor, that, with kind and judicious treatment of the infants, the ſlaves in Jamaica would increaſe *without any importations from Africa.* Mr Davies ſays the *ſame thing* for Barbadoes. Mr Woodward is not apprehenſive that the abolition of the ſlave-trade would ruin *his Weſt-Indian property.* He thinks it would be *of advantage* to Barbadoes.

* As a farther proof, that the climate of North America is not congenial to the African conſtitution, it appears from Baillie and Beverly that the negroes are always healthier *in the ſummer* than in the winter.

By

By uſing them well, and by good management, the ſtock of ſlaves *would naturally increaſe without importation.* And Mr Giles believes, that, if they were properly treated, their *increaſe would be general throughout the iſlands.*

CHAP. XII.

What appear to have been the principal cauſes, implied in the term Good Uſage, of the Increaſe by Births, in the inſtances mentioned, and what Regulations ought to take place in the general practice of the Colonies, to inſure an univerſal increaſe.

THE cauſes of the increaſe by births, on one of the eſtates mentioned, viz. on the Marquis de Rouvray's of St Domingo, are deſcribed by Captain Hall as follows:

The ſlaves were never hard preſſed in their work. The Marquis ſuffered no improper intercourſe between the males and females: every man had his own wife, and no white was ſuffered to diſjoin that union. Hoſpitals were built for the ſick and pregnant. The latter, when far advanced, were taken in there, and employed in trifling work, till the time of their delivery. Here they might remain, ſeparated from their huſbands, and excuſed from field labour, till the child could be ſupported without the mother's help, or when their ſtrength would permit, return with the child to their huſbands, and take the chance of work. In conſequence, the Marquis had not, for ſome years, occaſion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his eſtate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after an abſence of two years, inſtead of the happineſs that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but miſery and diſcontent. The whites had ſeized upon the pretty women: their huſbands, through diſcontent, ran away, and the labour falling heavier upon the reſt, they became diſcontented, and their work was badly carried on: ſo that it coſt him two years, before he could re-eſtabliſh order. It was a pleaſure to walk through his eſtate; for the ſlaves uſed to look upon him as a father.

It is of importance to cite this eſtate, becauſe, in conſequence of the above regulations, its gang increaſed; becauſe

when they were violated it went back; and becauſe, when they were re-eſtabliſhed, it was reſtored to its former ſtate. Theſe regulations alſo include all the regulations, except two, in conſequence of which the ſlaves increaſed by births on the other eſtates mentioned in the preceding chapter, and therefore the citation of theſe, in particular, avoids a repetition, and ſaves time. The two regulations not included in theſe, are the following:—Mr Giles aſſerts, that the purchaſing of a few mules, on an eſtate which he managed, to carry the canes which the negroes had before this been accuſtomed to carry on their heads, ſo lightened their labour, as to occaſion them to increaſe in population, whereas they had decreaſed before: and, on the eſtate cited by Lieut. Daviſon, the circumſtance of Mr Malcolm's going among his own negroes, hearing their complaints, and not ſuffering them to be puniſhed without his knowledge, are reckoned among the cauſes that contributed to their increaſe.

Let us now ſee what is the general practice in the colonies, and what alterations ſhould be made in it, to inſure an univerſal increaſe.

1. It is the opinion of Mr Fitzmaurice, as obſerved in chap. 4. that the forcing the ſlaves to labour beyond their ſtrength, is the means of bringing many of them to the grave. Mr Baillie ſays, that many of their complaints aroſe from extreme fatigue, and that a little reſt generally reſtored them, without any medicine being neceſſary. In general, ſays Forſter, the planters have no idea of improvements to eaſe their ſlaves. It ſeemed a general opinion, that, if negroes were not conſtantly kept at work, they would become unruly.

2. We have ſeen, in chap. 4. the very trifling faults, for which ſlaves are frequently puniſhed, at the diſcretion of the overſeer, and the unlimited ſeverity of thoſe puniſhments by the chain, dungeon, ſtocks, projecting iron collar, iron boot, cowſkin, cart-whip, picket, and the like; all of which have a manifeſt tendency to harraſs human nature, and, in conjuction with other cauſes, to ſubdue it.

3. It appears that no attention is paid to the marriage of the ſlaves, ſo that one man ſhould be reſtricted to one wife, but that there is a promiſcuous intercourſe amongſt one another as they pleaſe, (General Tottenham, Capt. Smith, Sir G. Young, Forſter, Coor); and that this is not only the caſe of the negroes one with another, but with the negro women and the whites, the latter of whom violate the chaſtity of the former at diſcretion, (Dean of Middleham, Captain Smith, Daviſon,

Daviſon, Cook, Harriſon, Coor, and Dalrymple). If the women are ſent for by the overſeers, ſays Cook, for theſe purpoſes, they *muſt come or be flogged*, and to ſuch a pitch has Dalrymple known this intercourſe to proceed, that female ſlaves are offered by their maſters, even to thoſe who viſit them, and he has known *compulſion* uſed to oblige ſuch to ſubmit to proſtitution.

4. It appears again, from chap. 4. that pregnant women, to get the moſt out of them, are frequently worked within a very little time of their delivery, and ſo hard and ſo near to this period, that they often miſcarry, as well as that, even in this ſituation, they are not exempt from the whip.

5. The ſides of the huts, ſays Coor, in which the pregnant women are delivered, and children born, are no more defence againſt the cold night-damps, than one of our paſture-hedges. Bedding they have none, but a board or baſs mat. The infant, for the firſt eight days, is never put to the mother's breaſt, but given to a woman out of the field, who nurſes it, and who probably has a child two, three, or four months old: and here Mr Coor ſubmits it to medical men what effect the milk of a woman hardly wrought and badly fed would have on a tender infant. They moſtly die convulſed about the eighth day. This want of care is the more lamentable, becauſe, if they ſurvive the eighth day, they moſtly do well. What convinces him farther it is for want of care, is becauſe, where they have *warm houſes, kind treatment*; and the *child ſet to the mother's breaſt*, he very ſeldom knew *any* die.

Moſt of the negro-houſes, ſays Fitzmaurice, are open to the weather, being wattled without plaſter. They ſleep on a board on the ground, near the fire, and after it goes out, they ſuffer *from cold and damp*. This cauſes many diſorders, eſpecially to *lying-in* women, who loſe more children *by this* than any other cauſe, as they generally die of the locked jaw.

a. The Dean of Middleham ſays, it ſtruck him, to ſpeak generally, that negro-mothers commonly went into the field too early after their delivery, taking their children with them; that the milk of the mother became feveriſh with labour, and the heat of the ſun was too powerful for the child, which was commonly expoſed in a baſket, and, in rainy weather, unſheltered. The ſame is confirmed by others.

It is evident then, if the above be the general practice in the Colonies; if the ſlaves are over-wrought and haſtily and ſeverely puniſhed; if promiſcuous intercourſe be allowed; if the women are oppreſſed during their pregnancy; if, while lying-in, they and their infants are ſo much expoſed to damp and

cold in their houſes, that many of the latter periſh: and if, after delivery, they are too ſoon hurried, with their ſurviving infants, into the field, it is evident, we repeat, that they cannot poſſibly, in general, increaſe: but that ſome change muſt be made in the ſyſtem, and that the following regulations are the moſt likely to anſwer the end, inſomuch as, upon the adopting of them, or ſimilar ones, the ſlaves on the eſtates cited have experienced an increaſe.

Regulation 1. The maxim obſerved on the eſtate of the Marquis de Rouvray, and ſome of the others cited, "of never preſſing the ſlaves hard in their work," and the ſubſtitution of animal for human labour, wherever it is practicable," as mentioned by Mr Giles, ſhould be adopted on every eſtate.

2. A more general reſidence of proprietors on their own eſtates, as on Mr Malcolm's, to attend to the complaints and puniſhments of their ſlaves, is neceſſary.

3. Marriage, or the union of one man to one woman, ſhould take place, as in the Marquis de Rouvray's plantation; and this union no white or other perſon ſhould be ſuffered to diſturb or disjoin.

4. The women ſlaves, when advanced in their pregnancy four months, ſhould be taken from the field, and ſhould have little and light work, as practiſed on ſome of the eſtates cited to have increaſed by births.

5. During the time of their lying-in, they ſhould be put into convenient hoſpitals, or, if allowed to remain in their huts, theſe ſhould be ſo conſtructed as to exclude the cold and damp, and every female ſhould ſuckle her own child from the birth.

6. In ſuch hoſpitals or huts, they ſhould remain as on the Marquis de Rouvray's eſtate, and be excuſed from field-labour, till the child could be ſupported without the mother's aid, or, when their ſtrength would permit, return with the child to their huſband's, and take the chance of work.

Now, if it could be made appear, as it can, that the ſlaves in ſome of the eſtates cited, increaſed by the adoption of ſome one of the above regulations alone, and that they increaſed on others by adopting two or three of them, and no more, and that on no one eſtate, as appears by the evidence, were all of them in force at a time, it is plain, that if all of them combined were put into execution on each and every eſtate in the Colonies, there muſt be an univerſal increaſe of the ſlaves there.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Whether other regulations may not be deduced from the Evidence, which would accelerate this Increaſe by Population.

WE have found, that lightening the labour of the ſlaves, attending to their grievances, puniſhments, and the like, have been the means of contributing to their increaſe by population; hence any new modes ſuggeſted by the evidence, that will produce the ſame effects, or will tend to their better nouriſhment or eſtabliſhment in ſociety, muſt accelerate that increaſe.

1. Let the plough be introduced on every eſtate which will admit the uſe of it.

The introduction of the plough would, in the opinion of Forſter, Sir G. Young, Rees, Harriſon, Giles, and Duncan, ſave the ſlaves much labour. Mr Fitzmaurice has known it anſwer this end. Mr Woodward and Mr J. Woodward farther confirm the ſame: the former has reduced its utility on his own eſtate to the following rule: *one plough, two men, and four horſes, do as much work as thirty negroes*, and, after the plough, it does not require, ſays he, much negro-labour to prepare the ground for the cane. He thinks that the largeſt part of the cane and ginger land in Barbadoes, may be ploughed to the advantage of the proprietor, and the *ſaving of negroes labour*.

2. In the earthing of canes, let the Eaſt-Indian ſhovel be introduced, in the place of the hoe, where it is practicable.

When the cane is ready to earth up, ſays Mr Botham, the ſpace between the rows is ploughed deep, the cane tops tied up, and an inſtrument like a broad ſhovel, with teeth at the bottom, a ſpade handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the ſhovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchaſe, is uſed by two perſons to earth up the cane, the ſtrongeſt holding the handle of the ſhovel, and preſſing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the oppoſite ſide of the plant, by a jerk of the cord, draws up to the plant all the earth that the plough had looſened. *Two perſons*, ſays Mr Botham, and he has been in the Weſt as well as in the Eaſt Indies, with this inſtrument, will earth up more canes in a day than *ten negroes* with their *hoes* according to the Weſt-Indian method.

3. Let

3. Let the commiſſions or premiums paid in ſome iſlands on the crops, be taken from the attornies and overſeers of eſtates, and let ſalaries or an augmentation of ſalary be ſubſtituted in their ſtead; or let the premiums and commiſſions continue, but be paid ſo much *per* head for the increaſe of the ſlaves.

It is the common practice for attornies, and often for overſeers to have a commiſſion on the crops (Cook, Daviſon, Fitzmaurice, Clappeſon, and Coor). This has a manifeſt tendency to make them puſh the negroes beyond their ſtrength. Accordingly we find, from Daviſon, that he has been with attornies to viſit the eſtates, and he has ſeen them do little elſe than inquire about the *crops*. He never heard them make any inquiries into *the treatment or ſtate of the ſlaves*. Coor ſays, he has known attornies *wink at overſeers* * preſſing the ſlaves to perform more work *than human nature could bear*.

4. Let the picking of graſs neither be extra work, nor done in the intervals of reſt; but let a graſs-gang be ſelected for this purpoſe; or entirely aboliſh graſs-picking, by laying out paſture-land.

This regulation, as may be ſeen in Chap. IV. would tend wonderfully to leſſen the labour and puniſhment, and, of courſe, promote the increaſe of the ſlaves.

5. Let the corn given to the negroes be ground for them.

This regulation would tend much to leſſen their labour, as will be ſeen from the following account. When the women return home, ſays Davies, they have to grind their corn, by the *ſtrength of their arms, rubbing it between two ſtones*. They muſt riſe with the earlieſt dawn to prepare their food, that they may be in the field in time, to eſcape puniſhment. Their circumſtances, but particularly the grinding of their corn, tended to diſcourage marriage, the woman's life becoming harder then from being thus a ſlave to her huſband. Forſter alſo obſerves, that the grinding of their corn at night, by hand, was in crop-time a great hardſhip.

6. Let taſks of ſuch parts of the work, as will admit them, be aſſigned to the ſlaves, as practiſed in America.

In America, ſays Baillie, the overſeer rouſed the ſlaves, and ſet them to work in the morning. They did not work for

* There is alſo a very deſtructive notion prevalent, viz. "That he is the beſt overſeer who makes the largeſt crops." To this criterion of an overſeer's merit, it is owing that thouſands of ſlaves have been killed by being overworked. This notion ought to be changed for the following: "That he is the beſt overſeer who preſerves the ſlaves."

for ſet hours, but by taſk-work, generally a rood of land to each, when eaſily cultivated; when otherwiſe, the overſeer ſets the ſtrongeſt to the hardeſt work, and *vice verſa*: and indeed it was uſual to leſſen the piece of land conſiderably, when uncommonly foul. The negroes generally helped thoſe who could not finiſh as ſoon as the reſt, ſo that they left the field at once, pretty early in the afternoon, when their work ceaſed, and they were at perfect liberty for the reſt of the day. Mr Baillie adds, that the drivers ſeldom or never whipped the ſlaves through their day's work; becauſe it was impoſſible to know till towards the cloſe of the day, whether a ſlave would or would not finiſh his taſk, and it was thought time enough to puniſh when the negroes deſerved it.

This politic method of working by taſk has been tried in Jamaica. Mr Fitzmaurice hired ſixty negroes, all Americans, from a Mr Douglas who reſided there, and employed them in this manner. They had a taſk meaſured out to them every morning by Mr Douglas or his overſeer, and which they finiſhed by one or two o'clock, and had the reſt of the day to themſelves. The driver carried no whip, and only went occaſionally to ſee that the work was properly done.

It will now be evident to the reader how much the introduction of taſk-work into the Weſt Indies, would add to the eaſe and comfort, and of courſe to the natural increaſe of the ſlaves; for, by this wiſe and politic method, the work *is apportioned to the ſtrength of the ſlaves, and the weak are not obliged to keep up with the ſtrong.* The whip alſo, by which they are inceſſantly harraſſed, is avoided. This alone is of great importance. Mr Crew thinks the *uſe of the whip formed a difference in the treatment of American and Weſt-Indian ſlaves greatly to the diſadvantage of the latter.* They have alſo, by means of the ſyſtem recommended, the important advantage of a *part of the afternoon and evening to themſelves*, in which they can cultivate their little portions of lands, prepare their proviſions, and yet have ſufficient time to reſt: all which would greatly add to the comfort of their lives.

If there ſhould be any objection to the introduction of taſk-work into the Weſt-India iſlands, after what has been ſaid, it can only ariſe from a ſuppoſition, that the ſlaves getting their work done by two or three in the afternoon, cannot do ſo much for their owner, as thoſe who work till ſun-ſet, on the preſent ſyſtem. The very reverſe, however,

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is the caſe: for Mr Fitzmaurice obſerves, that thoſe negroes whom he employed by taſk in Jamaica, finiſhed their work by one or two o'clock, whereas the plantation-negroes on the adjoining land would not finiſh *till dark, even with the driver, the ſame quantity of land.*

Having now ſtated all that appears in the evidence, on the ſubject of eaſing the labour of the ſlaves, as the means of increaſing them by birth, we come to a few regulations of another kind.

7. Never let the ſame perſons hold the offices of attorney and overſeer, or manager: nor let an eſtate be put under the care of an attorney who either has many eſtates to attend to, or who lives many miles from the eſtate he is to ſuperintend.

All theſe evils are abundantly ſtated in the evidence, and it is therefore clear, that the above regulation would have a tendency to obtain protection for the ſlaves, in caſes of unmerited or exceſſive puniſhment, on the part of the overſeer: for, by the 3d regulation, it would be the intereſt of the attorney to inquire into their complaints, and redreſs them, and not, as at preſent, to wink at their oppreſſion; and by this regulation, he would be at hand and have time to do his duty. The ſlaves alſo would not be precluded by diſtance, from preferring their own complaints. This ſuperintendance of puniſhments, was one of the cauſes that contributed to the increaſe on an eſtate mentioned in the preceding chapter.

8. Let a ſmall part of the cane-lands be diſmantled and turned into proviſion-grounds for the ſlaves.

The great want of proviſions, which the ſlaves experience, has been amply explained in Chap. IV. It has been proved that thoſe who have land enough allowed them have not ſufficient time to cultivate it; but that evil will be removed by the introduction of taſk-work (Regul. 6.), and thoſe who have little or no land will poſſeſs it by the preſent. This would be particularly uſeful, becauſe proviſions *raiſed*, ſays Botham, feed negroes better than any *dry or other proviſions imported.* It would alſo preſerve them from falling off as they do at preſent. Epidemics, ſays Coor, are more fatal to poor and ill fed, than to well fed, hearty ſlaves. But one fatal epidemic prevailed while he was in Jamaica. It attacked all ranks of whites and blacks, and generally poor, ill fed negroes died of it. *Few well fed* negroes died of it, and *not one white man.* Nor need the planters be afraid that the diſmantling of the canes for proviſion-land, will rob them

them of their former profits. If a hundred negroes cultivate as many acres of canes, and fifty acres be deducted for their ſupport, it is not improbable but that the fifty in canes, with the labour of a hundred perſons, may produce as much as the hundred acres before; for a hundred labourers are better able to cultivate and improve fifty, than twice the number of acres, and the earth will remunerate in proportion to the toil and improvement beſtowed upon it. Of this we may adduce a ſtriking inſtance, from Fitzmaurice. He obſerves that a gentleman had two eſtates in Clarendon, one of which Mr Fitzmaurice managed. This gentleman had too few negroes for both eſtates, but ſufficient for one. He however cultivated both. They produced him together 150 hogſheads of ſugar per annum. He became in debt, and his negroes ſuffered. At length, changing his plan, he diſmantled one of his eſtates, and put both the gangs on the other. Theſe were then amply ſufficient, and he is now making 400 hhds, *that is* 250 *more* hhds *per year upon this one eſtate, than upon both together before*, and is now a clear man. This regulation then would tend to the proprietor's benefit, as well as to the increaſe of the ſlaves.

9. Let every encouragement be given to the moral and religious inſtruction of the ſlaves.

A deficiency in this particular, appears throughout the whole of the evidence. There has been, however, here and there, a ſolitary inſtance of a contrary nature, in the knowledge of Coor, Forſter, Captain Smith, Duncan, and Fitzmaurice; and theſe declare, that where ſuch moral and religious inſtruction have been encouraged, the ſlaves have ſhewn a *better diſpoſition and behaviour*; that they have alſo paid a more general attention to *marriage*, and that they have *increaſed more by the births*.

Having now mentioned the principal regulations which the evidence ſuggeſts, in addition to thoſe recommended in the former chapter, for producing a natural increaſe of the ſlaves, it is plain that were all thoſe regulations combined, and generally enforced in the colonies, that increaſe would be proportionably accelerated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Whether the Coloniſts could carry on the neceſſary Cultivation of their Lands, without a freſh Importation of Slaves while this increaſe was becoming effective; or, in other Words, while the Generation immediately ſucceeding theſe Regulations were growing up to ſupply the natural Deaths of the Slaves of all Ages, now in their Poſſeſſion.

THIS queſtion may be anſwered from what has appeared in ſome of the preceding chapters.

Slaves have been ſhewn to have been wounded by the watchmen, in ſtealing proviſions, to which they have been impelled by hunger; but as, by ſome of the foregoing regulations, they would be ſufficiently fed, (and where they have been ſufficiently fed, the evidence has ſhewn that they have not ſtolen at all), thoſe watchmen would become unneceſſary as ſuch, and might be turned into the effective field-gangs.

It has appeared alſo, that where taſk-work is introduced the whip is unneceſſary: hence the drivers, whoſe only buſineſs is to force labour, (and of whom there are four or five, ſays Coor, to every 100 ſlaves), might themſelves be converted into field-labourers.

It has been ſhewn too, that, in conſequence of their being better fed, according to ſome of the regulations ſuggeſted, they would be far leſs liable to ſuffer from epidemics; and it is evident, that, being better fed, leſs worked and harraſſed by the whip, that is, in every reſpect better uſed, their lives would be proportionably prolonged.

It has likewiſe appeared, that two ſlaves, aſſiſted by the plough, do the work of thirty without it; and that in the earthing up of the canes, two ſlaves uſing the Eaſt-Indian implement mentioned, would do the work of ten with the hoe.

From the preſent compulſive and oppreſſive ſyſtem, it has appeared in evidence, that numbers of ſlaves run away, and are laid up ſickly. But the regulations would put an end to theſe evils, and the gangs, not being deſerted and thinned as before, would become more efficient in ſtrength and number.

This ſtrength and this number would be rendered ſtill more effective, by the aſſiſtance and labour of ſuch, as we have

have ſeen, are under the preſent ſyſtem, often crippled or badly wounded by the watchmen. From the above then it appears,

1. That on the day the importation ſhouldc eaſe, the coloniſts by incorporating the watchmen and drivers in their field-gangs, would have an additional number (and that a conſiderable one) of ſeaſoned hands, by which they would be compenſated for the natural deaths of the working ſlaves, during at leaſt a part of the time in which the riſing generation were growing up for labour.

2. That the natural deaths of the working ſlaves would be greatly and progreſſively retarded, from that day, and could not poſſibly happen ſo frequently as before.

3. That, taking into conſideration the retarding of the deaths of the working ſlaves, and the augmenting of their number, they might not, in three or four years be ſo reduced, but that their numbers might be then equal to what it was on the day of ſtopping the importation, when the whole of the efficient hands under the former wretched ſyſtem were not thus called into employ.

4. That even if no augmentation could be made to the number of working ſlaves, and their natural deaths were as frequent as before, it by no means follows that the cultivation need be impeded till the riſing generation could grow up; becauſe a much leſs number of hands, aſſiſted by cattle and the implements mentioned, would evidently do much more work than a greater, under the preſent ſyſtem.

In ſhort, after the circumſtances ſtated, and conſidering alſo that there is now in the colonies a ſeries of Creoles of all ages, ready to ſupply ſucceſſively the places of many that would go off by natural death, no man can rationally ſuppoſe, that the number of working ſlaves could ever be reduced ſo low, while the riſing generation were growing up, as not to be as fully adequate to the cultivation of the colonies, as they are at preſent. Mr Botham ſays, that by means of two-thirds, nay even *one-half of the preſent force* (and he ſpeaks experimentally) the iſlands might be *much better cultivated* under certain regulations, than under what he terms, *the preſent miſerable management:* and yet the regulations ſuggeſted by Mr Botham *are not ſo numerous* as thoſe deduced from the evidence, in the preceding chapters.

If, however, any one ſhould diſpute this point, he muſt be told, that the coloniſts have yet many other reſources. They have generally, in the firſt place, a number of domeſtic ſlaves that are ſupernumerary and uſeleſs. They have a great number of ſuperfluous domeſtics at Barbadoes, ſays

Woodward, in town and country. Mr Giles thinks half the domestics of Grenada and Montserrat unnecessary. Lieutenant Davison has known, in Jamaica, from twelve to twenty domestics in a house, where half the number would have done as well. Dr Jackson too observes, that there are three times more domestics in Jamaica than would be in England, for the same work; and Jeffreys, speaking of those in the same island, says they are too many; they are a nuisance from their numbers. Hence it is clear, that were it possible a failure of hands for the field could take place before the assigned epocha arrived, many domestics might be spared, without any inconvenience, for field-labour. Nor would this change be at all disagreeable to many of them: for we have seen their lives often rendered miserable, by being constantly under the eye, and subject to the caprice of their masters and mistresses. Coor, indeed, has often heard many of them say, that they would rather be under the field-hardships, than in the house.

This resource, though very considerable, is yet not the only one the planters are possessed of: for many of the slaves are coopers, carpenters, mill-wrights, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, and the like, all of whom could perform field-labour, and their places, if necessary, be supplied by white men, who, if temperate, would not suffer in their health. Land surveying, says Terry, is exceedingly laborious in the West Indies, and yet he followed it for seven years, without injury to his health. He has often seen white mill-wrights at work in the sun, whose health did not suffer. There are also white coopers and blacksmiths there, but the former only direct negroes working under them. Lieutenant Davison is sure whites, if temperate, could, without material injury, do any kind of out-door work. It is well known that the ship-wrights and other tradesmen in the king's yard, Port-Royal, often work all day long, and he never knew them unhealthier than people in general. White artificers do work at their trades in the West Indies, without materially hurting their health. Captain Cook has no doubt, and he speaks from many instances, that white people, by habits of temperance and regularity of hours, might bring themselves to go through nearly as much labour and fatigue in the West Indies, as any people whatever. Mr Clappeson thinks the whites, if temperate, are able to labour in Jamaica. He says no people work harder than the English sailors there: and Dr Jackson apprehends, as a medical man, that white men may work as artificers, in the West Indies, without any material detriment to their health.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Whether there be not a prevailing opinion in the Colonies, that it is cheaper to buy or import ſlaves than thus to increaſe them by Population.—And whether the very reverſe of this opinion be not true; namely, that it is more profitable to breed than to import.

THAT ſuch an opinion prevails in the colonies is too evident. Dalrymple, Captain Wilſon, Harriſon, and Sir George Young, all affirm, that in their time it was thought by ſome planters to be *cheaper to buy than to breed.* The prevalence of the ſame notion is alſo confirmed by others. Mr Rees was informed that the planters did not think it worth their while to breed more than they did. The buying ſyſtem is ſaid by Dr Jackſon to have been generally preferred. Captain Hall ſays, the planters eſteemed the charge of rearing a child to maturity, more troubleſome and greater than buying a ſlave fit for work, and the ſame opinion is deſcribed as prevailing by Fitzmaurice, Duncan, and Daviſon. As a farther proof of the exiſtence of ſuch a notion, we may refer to the calculations made upon theſe occaſions. If a negroe laſted a certain time, ſays Baillie, his death was accounted nothing. This time is deſcribed by Fitzmaurice to be ſeven years. Captain Giles alſo heard the term of ſeven years affixed for the exiſtence of a gang of negroes, which he ſaw, and we find a man of the name of Yemman, by Captain Scott's account, reducing his calculation to four years, treating his ſlaves moſt cruelly, and ſaying that four years labour of a negro was enough for him; for that *he then had his pennyworth out of him, and he did not care what became of him afterwards.*

As this notion is ſo fatal to population, and is indeed evidently one grand ſource from whence the preſent evils in the colonial ſyſtem ſpring, it will be proper to examine the evidence, to ſee if we cannot ſhew the reverſe of it to be true.

There is one circumſtance that leads us ſtrongly to ſuſpect that it is not ſo well founded as its general prevalence ſhould

warrant, which is, that *one-third of all that are bought die in the ſeaſoning*. This ſeaſoning is not a diſtemper, but is the time an African takes to be ſo habituated to the colonial labour, as to be counted an effective ſupply.

Some planters, ſays Woolrich, who have bought lots of ſlaves, have informed him, that they have loſt one-third of of them or more in the firſt year of their ſeaſoning.

Mr Terry ſtates, that very conſiderable loſſes were common among the newly imported Africans. One-third die within the firſt year. Of a lot of ſix, bought by himſelf, two died within the firſt year, and at the end of five years two only ſurvived.

Mr Forſter recollects a planter, who bought thirty new negroes, and loſt them all within the year.

Mr Fitzmaurice, in the laſt four years he was in Jamaica, bought ninety-five new negroes. At the end of that time, he ſold fifty-two, all that were then alive, and thoſe not ſeaſoned. Had he kept them till ſeaſoned, he ſhould have loſt more, and for this very reaſon he ſold them. He thinks, on an average, at leaſt one-third of the new negroes imported, die in the firſt three years.

Though this circumſtance would induce us to think that it was cheaper to rear than to buy a ſlave, (for in eſtimating the price given for one that is bought, not only the prime coſt is to be conſidered, but a third more is to be added to it, with various other circumſtances) ; yet, as ſufficient data are not to be found in the evidence to enable us to come to a calculation, we muſt be content to abide by the facts that follow :

Thoſe eſtates, ſays Forſter, which bought the greateſt number of new negroes, were not thought to be the moſt flouriſhing. It was *exactly the reverſe.*

On an eſtate, which Mr Coor knew, the proprietor was often *buying lots of twenty, thirty, or forty ſlaves*, and yet this man by ill uſing them, *(which ill uſage is inſeparably connected with the buying ſyſtem)*, ſuffered a reduction both in the number of his negroes and the produce of his eſtate, ſo that from good circumſtances *his credit* was in eleven years *reduced to a low ebb.*

Captain Scott was preſent *at the ſale of Yemman's property*, the perſon mentioned to have adopted the ſyſtem of buying in preference to that of breeding, and working his negroes up in the ſpace of four years.

Lieutenent Daviſon believes owners of ſlaves are very commonly *involved* with Guinea merchants ; for they often

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ſtay on the eſtates all the week, except Sundays, *with their gates always locked.*

The dependance on the imported ſlaves, ſays the Rev. Mr Davis, certainly contributed *to embarraſs* planters.

Mr Woolrich, who is qualified to give the hiſtory of Tortola in this particular, ſays, that when he firſt went there, there were but few ſlaves, and that at this time the planters were in good credit, and none of them involved in debt. In about three or four years, however, after his arrival there, ſome Guinea ſhips came down with cargoes of ſlaves. The planters in general bought: many of the new negroes died in the ſeaſoning, and Guinea ſhips coming down time after time, the planters bought to ſupply their places. This continuing, many of them got much into debt, by purchaſing ſlaves on credit, and were obliged to mortgage their eſtates and ſlaves to merchants in England. He has never known a planter, who thus mortgaged, pay off the debt. Some in conſequence have been obliged to have them ſold by auction, much under value, and he has known others, even *obliged to become overſeers where they were proprietors before.* Since he left Tortola, he has been informed, by means of correſpondence, or ſeeing ſome perſon from the iſland, (which is generally the caſe once a-year) of its annual ſtate to the preſent time. The laſt information repreſented the planters to be in very diſtreſſed circumſtances. Divers of their eſtates, mortgaged in England, have been ſold at public vendue upon very low terms, becauſe few were able to pay for them, and the general credit ſo low with the planters, that but few could obtain the neceſſaries they wanted from the ſtores kept there by reaſon of their debts to the Engliſh merchants. It has been his opinion for many years, that the *unneceſſary purchaſe of African ſlaves* has been the main cauſe of *their embarraſſments*, and the *accumulation of their debts.* He is ſure that ſeven-eights of them would have been *in much better circumſtances*, if they *had not bought any negroes during the time of his reſidence there*, but had *uſed thoſe they had with humanity and care.*

To the above accounts we may ſubjoin the following from Mr Savage. In the year 1739, he obſerves, a duty was laid in Carolina on the importation of ſlaves, which amounted to a prohibition, and which continued to 1744. The *purchaſe of new negroes having involved the planters greatly in debt was the reaſon why the Legiſlature laid it.*

Theſe are ſome of the circumſtances, which are intended to ſhew, that the reverſe of the notion or opinion mentioned,

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is true, that is to ſay, that it is cheaper to breed than to import. Others are, that wherever eſtates are mentioned in the evidence as flouriſhing, and the proprietors of them as clear men, it is where they have adopted the principle of breeding, and of treating the ſlaves they have had with humanity and care.* It may alſo be added here from the evidence, that the breeding of ſlaves was conſidered ſo *profitable* in ſome parts of America, that people *held them for this purpoſe alone*, independently of any proſpect from the fruits of their labour.

CHAP. XVI.

Whether it be more politic to extend the cultivation of the Colonies by the Continuance of the Slave-Trade, or wait till the riſing Generation ſhall be capable of performing it.

MR IRVING ſtates, by means of official papers from the Cuſtom-houſe, that the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands, in their preſent ſtate, produce annually a greater quantity of ſugar and rum than is requiſite for the conſumption of Great Britain, her immediate dependencies, and the kingdom of Ireland, and, to extend the cultivation, he conſiders to be very impolitic, for two reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe ſuch extenſion can only be made from Britiſh capitals, which might be employed in carrying on and extending the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture of the mother country; but which muſt thus be transferred to the moſt vulnerable parts of the empire, and there inveſted in purſuits, which do not appear to him to be productive of a profit to the proprietor, or of advantage to the public, in any degree adequate to the precarious ſituation in which ſuch property ſtands, from the contingencies of climate and of war: for, if but one iſland ſhould be loſt, it is a complete loſs of ſo much capital to the empire: and Mr Irving ſhews their

* Many other advantages appear by the evidence to reſult from the ſyſtem of breeding ſlaves and uſing them well. Suicide and rebellion are peculiar to the imported ſlaves. Hence the peace of mind and intereſt of the proprietor are materially concerned, and it fully appears that ſuch ſlaves do much more work than others in the ſame time.

their extremely hazardous ſituation, by the capture of ſix of them, and the final ſeparation of Tobago in the late war.

Secondly, Becauſe the ſugar and rum to be produced by extending the cultivation (the preſent cultivation being more than ſufficient for the demand of England and her dependencies) muſt be exported to foreign ſtates. This, ſays Mr Irving, is exceedingly impolitic; for the ſugar made in the French iſlands can be afforded (which he ſhews by official papers) ſo much cheaper than the Britiſh, that, in order to enable the planters to ſell it at the ſame price as their rivals, Government muſt give large and deſtructive bounties. Mr Irving even ſtates, and this again officially, that, in the moſt favourable period for the Britiſh iſlands, viz. before the late war, the French planters were able to ſell their ſugars from twenty to thirty *per cent.* cheaper than the Britiſh planters: and he conceives it to be a maxim thoroughly eſtabliſhed in national commerce, that it is unwiſe to puſh forward by monopolies, reſtrictive regulations, or bounties, any branch of commerce or manufactures, which cannot be carried on, after a fair trial, within fifteen *per cent.* of the prices of other rival countries.

To the above reaſons, given by Mr Irving, we may add, that the extenſion of the cultivation, by means of purchaſing new ſlaves, muſt be exceeedingly impolitic, if we bear in mind the evidence adduced in the preceding chapter: inaſmuch as it muſt be, as it ever has been, attended with debts, mortgages, and ruin.

Now, if the above arguments ſhould, in the opinion of the reader, fully prove the impolicy of the meaſure of carrying the cultivation beyond its preſent bounds by means of the preſent ſyſtem, it will be very eaſy to evince the policy of doing it by means of the riſing generation of ſlaves, and by them alone * This will appear, firſt, becauſe the breeding of ſlaves where it has been attended to as an object, has been ſhewn to increaſe the proprietor's capital: for this reaſon, therefore, and from the circumſtance of the ſlaves being in this caſe the growth of the eſtates, and not, as by the former ſyſtem, purchaſed, *no capital need be drawn from the mother country, to the hazard and detriment deſcribed.* Secondly, becauſe thoſe eſtates mentioned in the evidence, upon

* Sir George Young ſtates his belief, that if the ſlave-trade were aboliſhed, and every proper regulation adopted, to encourage the breeding of negroes in the Weſt-Indies, the ſtock of negroes would gradually increaſe, ſo as to be adequate to the clearing and cultivation of all the iſlands, to the full extent of which they are capable.

upon which the breeding ſyſtem has been moſt attended to, are almoſt univerſally noticed, with this remark, namely, that they had "*got out of debt*," or "*were flouriſhing*," or "*were making money.*" Now, if eſtates get out of debt, or flouriſh, where the negroes are bred, where the reverſe is the caſe, where they are purchaſed, it can only be becauſe the ſyſtem of cultivating by means of population muſt be cheaper than in the other way: hence the Britiſh planters would be enabled, *without any deſtructive bounties from Government* to meet their rivals on an equal or perhaps a more favourable footing in foreign markets. It is evident alſo from the expreſſions mentioned above to have been annexed to thoſe eſtates where attention was paid to breeding, that the planters would cultivate, in this caſe, *to their own certain emolument*, and not, as in the preſent ſyſtem, to their equally certain embarraſſment and ruin.

Having now mentioned the principal facts contained in the evidence offered to Parliament by the petitioners of Great Britain, in behalf of the abolition of the ſlave-trade, we cannot cloſe this compilation better than in the words of Mr Hercules Roſs: he ſays, "finally as the reſult of his "obſervations and moſt ſerious reflection, he heſitates not to "ſay, that the trade for ſlaves ought to be aboliſhed, not "only as contrary to ſound policy, but to the laws of God "and nature; and were it poſſible, by the preſent inquiry, "to convey a juſt knowledge of the extenſive miſery it oc-"caſions, every kingdom of Europe muſt unite in calling "on their Legiſlatures to aboliſh the inhuman traffic. This "is not a haſty nor a new ſentiment, formed on the pre-"ſent diſcuſſion, which has, in no reſpect, influenced his "judgment. The ſame opinion he publicly delivered ſe-"venteen years ago in Kingſton, Jamaica, in a ſociety form-"ed of the firſt characters of the place, on debating the "following queſtion, (propoſed, he thinks, by the late Mr "Thomas Hibbert, who had been forty or fifty years the "moſt eminent Guinea factor there) "Whether the trade "to Africa for ſlaves was conſiſtent with ſound policy, the "laws of nature, and morality?" This diſcuſſion occupied "ſeveral meetings, and at laſt it was determined by a ma-"jority, *That the trade to Africa for ſlaves, was neither "conſiſtent with ſound policy, the laws of nature, and mora-"lity.*"

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THE END.